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WARSAW PACT ARMIES YOUTH ATTEND BERLIN MEETING

AU262058 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Nov 80 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--Leading youth functionaries of the Bulgarian People's Army, the Hungarian People's Army, the Polish Army, the armed forces of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Soviet Army and the Czechoslovak People's Army arrived in Berlin on Monday for a 1-week exchange of experience regarding the communist education of young army members in the socialist armed forces. In the afternoon, delegations of the seven fraternal armies honored the Soviet soldiers who fell in smashing Hitler's fascism. They laid a wreath at the monument for the Soviet heroes in Berlin-Treptow. En route to the crypt, the delegates went through rows of torchbearers of the Friedrich Engels Guard Regiment of the National People's Army who had formed a guard of honor.

Earlier, the youth functionaries inspected the GDR state border with West Berlin at the Brandenburg Gate. After having been welcomed by Col Manfred Hummel, deputy city commander of the GDR capital of Berlin, they were briefed about the eventful history of this historical place. The guests convinced themselves of the reliable protection of the state border and the responsible duties of the members of the GDR border forces.

During their stay in the GDR, the youth functionaries will visit troop units and training facilities of the National People's Army, as well as some enterprises.

GDR'S NEUMANN SEES CEMA TELECOMMUNICATIONS MINISTERS

AU301757 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Nov 80 p 2

[Summary] On Thursday Alfred Neumann, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received for talks the ministers of posts and telecommunications of the countries participating in the 19th session of the CEMA Standing Commission for Posts and Telecommunications. Alfred Neumann gave an account of the current tasks of the GDR's domestic and foreign policy, and stressed the importance of telecommunications for the state, economy and population. Central to the subsequent exchange of views were problems related to the further deepening of cooperation among CEMA countries in the field of posts and telecommunications. V.A. Shamshin, USSR minister of posts and telecommunications, the commission chairman, briefed Alfred Neumann on the course and results of the session. Good progress was noted in establishing the mutually interconnected automatic information system of the CEMA member countries, and in the mechanization and automation of procedures in the operations of posts and newspapers.

CEMA LAW CONFERENCE HOLDS SESSION IN BUDAPEST

LD012036 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 1 Dec (MTI)--The 19th session of the Law Conference of the Council For Mutual Economic Assistance opened in Budapest Monday with delegations from the member-countries and Yugoslavia participating.

The agenda of the session includes elaboration of regulators to settle some legal issues of technical-scientific cooperation among companies, such as measures to be taken in the event one of the sides fails to meet its obligation assumed. The legal system of CMEA integration will thus become more complete. The member-countries' delegates will sign an agreement providing for the modernization of the legal status of joint companies operating in various CMEA countries such as Agromash and Intermetal. The conference was opened by Dr Jeno Szilbereky, chief justice of Hungary's Supreme Court and chairman of the Hungarian section of the CMEA law conference.

DELEGATES ADDRESS CSCE WORKING GROUPS ON ISSUES

SFRY: Mediterranean Security

LD012034 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Madrid, 1 Dec (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia today pressed for the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe substantially contributing to the promotion of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean.

Yugoslav delegation head Miroslav Zotovic pointed to the indispensability of giving the non-European Mediterranean countries the possibility of equally participating at CSCE meetings in consideration of basic questions of security and cooperation in this strategically important region.

Zotovic emphasized that the situation in the Mediterranean, which continues being one of the most neuralgic spots in the world, has dangerously deteriorated in recent months. He said that many contradictions and conflicts are evident in the Mediterranean, above all the Mid-East crisis--the Palestinian issue. "Quieting of the situation in that part of the world cannot be expected without the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and instability in the Mediterranean makes stability and peace in Europe uncertain," Zotovic said.

The Yugoslav delegation considers, Zotovic pointed out, that possibility should be given to the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, of participating in the Madrid meeting of CSCE.

"In addition to war crises at the periphery of the Mediterranean, concentration of armament and military power continuously increase in that region, with the force of bloc confrontation being present in its waters," Zotovic said. "Yugoslavia considers indispensable the efforts of all countries in order to open the way, on the foundations of the Helsinki principles, for turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and friendly cooperation, he emphasized.

Zotovic went on to say that the non-aligned countries have shown special interest in solution of problems in the Mediterranean. He recalled that, on the basis of recommendations of the Havana Summit, a meeting of Mediterranean non-aligned countries was held in Valletta, Malta, in February 1980, which considered the basic aspects of Mediterranean security and cooperation.

The debate on the situation in the Mediterranean continued in the plenum and commissions of the Madrid meeting of CSCE. Representatives of Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Morocco and Tunisia took floor in the debate.

GDR: Detente, Information

LD012336 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2118 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Excerpt] Madrid, 1 Dec (ADN)--The Madrid meeting of the 35 signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act began its fourth week with further discussions in the plenary meeting and the working groups. In the working group for security, the GDR spokesman dealt with basic issues of military detente. He cited facts to show that the policy of arms race and confrontation, adopted by the most aggressive imperialist circles, is the true cause of the acute international situation. These facts include NATO shows of s strength close to the GDR border, among them a series of maneuvers which had ominously increased in scale and intensity.

The GDR spokesman said it was one of the most urgent tasks to switch to arms limitation and disarmament in the eighties.

He emphatically called on the Madrid meeting to decide to convene a European conference on military detente and disarmament. In its initial phase it should deal with confidence-building measures.

In the working group for cooperation in the humanitarian and other fields, the GDR spokesman gave an account of the favorable facilities in the GDR for foreign journalists. He cited many examples to show that they go beyond the Helsinki Final Act. With reference to the Final Act, it was pointed out that the exchange of information must serve peace, understanding and the growth of confidence between nations. The spokesman criticized the inflammatory and slanderous campaigns conducted by aggressive imperialist circles against the GDR and other socialist states, and rejected distortions of the socialist information policy by NATO representatives. He demonstrated that not a few Western states are restricting facilities for GDR journalists in various ways.

Hungary: Information Exchange

LD012308 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] The Hungarian representative at the Madrid meeting stated that Hungary wishes to continue increasing the amount of information from abroad while at the same time it expects that information reflecting Hungarian reality should reach certain capitalist countries more easily. Pal Berenyi said at the working group on the exchange of information that Hungarian information policy pays great attention to the reliability of information. Information which truly deserves credit must be differentiated from more or less biased opinions which frequently appear in the West many times, the member of the Hungarian delegation said at the Madrid meeting.

CSSR DELEGATE INTERVIEWED ON CSCE CONTRIBUTION

LD292243 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] The Madrid meeting of representatives of the states which signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will begin next Monday the 4th week of deliberations. Karel Kvapil, our special correspondent in the Spanish capital, asked the head of the Czechoslovak delegation at the Madrid conference, Ambassador Jaromir Johanes, for an interview in this connection:

[Begin recording] [Question] During the 3 weeks that have elapsed since the opening of the Madrid meeting, representatives of the participating countries have voiced a whole number of views on the development of the European-wide process. Comrade Johanes, how do you assess the share of the Czechoslovak delegation in the proceedings so far?

[Answer] The Czechoslovak delegation arrived in Madrid with the aim of contributing as much as possible to ensure the success of the Madrid meeting. Already during the preparatory stage we have helped actively to bring about an agreement on the agenda of the main proceedings, which was not easy. At plenary meetings and this week also in the working commissions we have documented, in a number of speeches, concretely, and I would think, quite convincingly, how our republic is fulfilling the individual provisions of the Final Act of the all-European conference and how it is sharing actively in the intensification of the process of relaxation. We have also explained our principal notions about the direction the participating states should take in order to bring about a further improvement of the situation. We have proceeded in this and still do from the joint program of the socialist countries, which is contained both in the Warsaw declaration of the Political Consultative Committee and in the communique from last October's meeting of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states

We are intending to substantiate our proposals in greater details during the next stage of the Madrid meeting, which will be devoted to the very examination of new proposals.

As you know the Madrid proceedings have not been so far without sharp exchanges of views and fierce discussions. The fact is that speeches by certain representatives of the NATO countries and in particular the American delegation, have been marked by the endeavor to drag into the forum of the Madrid meeting questions which have nothing in common with our deliberations. The aim is to create here an atmosphere of confrontation and tension. Our delegation has spoken up resolutely against such endeavors and has also rejected attempts to misuse the Madrid meeting in variance with the spirit and letter of the Final Act, for interference in the internal affairs of the socialist states.

[Question] You have said that the deliberations at the Madrid meeting have not been easy. What in your opinion is it essential to do to ensure that the meeting finishes successfully?

[Answer] I think that in order to achieve positive results at the Madrid meeting, it is essential in the first place for all the participating states to adopt a reasonable and realistic attitude. The 5 years that have elapsed since the signing of the Final Act have proved unequivocally what kind of advantages the process of relaxation has brought to all countries and what kind of broad possibilities for cooperation are opened if this process is advanced further. What is the main thing in the present period is the necessity of expanding the process of relaxation to cover the military area. This is why the Czechoslovak delegation, along with other socialist states, is striving to ensure that the Madrid meeting takes a decision on the convening of an all-European conference on military relaxation and disarmament. Some other states have also submitted concrete proposals in this respect, so that in our view there are realistic conditions for the holding of such a conference.

Other problems have developed in Europe which will have to be tackled in the coming years, whether they relate to the problems of energy, living environment, transportation, foreign trade, and I could name a whole number of others. But as I have already said, it will be possible to achieve concrete results only if all delegations adopt a considered and constructive attitude toward taking stock of the existing activity in fulfilling the Final Act and that they will, when submitting new proposals, take into account the interests and benefits of all the participating states. We expect that at the Madrid meeting, despite all problems and complications, sound reason will prevail in the end, that those whose purposes are suited by international tension, so that they would be able to step up the arms race, will not gain the upper hand, and that, on the contrary, peace will be strengthened further and that mutually advantageous cooperation will be further intensified. The CSSR, along with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, is ready to do its utmost to bring this about. We believe that in this respect we shall find enough understanding and realism among other delegations too. [end recording]

LEADERS OBSERVE LIBERATION, REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

Wreath Laying Ceremony

AU291438 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] On the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the country's liberation and of the people's revolution, homage was paid and wreaths were laid this morning at the martyrs' cemetery in Tirana. Comrades Hekuran Isai and Foto Cami laid wreaths on behalf of the AWP Central Committee; Spiro Koleka and Xhafer Spahiu on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Pali Miska and Esma Ulqinaku on behalf of the Council of Ministers. Wreaths were also laid on behalf of the General Council of the Democratic Front, the Central Council of Trade Unions, the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union, the Central Committee of the Union of the Working Youth of Albania, the National Committee of War Veterans, the Ministry of Defense and the Tirana District Party Committee and People's Council Executive Committee.

The diplomatic corps accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania paid homage and laid wreaths during the martyrs' ceremony this morning. The ceremony was attended also by Jovan Antoni, chief of the protocol branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Wreaths were also laid this morning at the martyrs' cemetery in Tirana by the delegation of the Communist Party of Brazil, as well as by the Asambleista Workers Association of Spain.

Reception for Leaders, Guests

AU301538 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 30 Nov 80

["Reception at the Palace of Brigades on Occasion of the 36th Anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland; Comrade Enver Hoxha Attends"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 30 Nov (ATA)--The Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic [PSR] of Albania and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania gave a reception at the Palace of Brigades last night on occasion of the 36th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.

Attending the reception were the beloved leader of our party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha, the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the P.S.R. of Albania Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, the comrades Mehmet Shehu, Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Spiro Koleka, Hekuran Isai, Kadri Hazbium, Pali Miska, Simon Stefani, Qirjako Mihali, Lenka Cuko, Llambi Gegprifti, the Secretary of the party Central Committee Prokop Murpa, the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and government, leaders of mass organisations and central institutions, heroes of the people and socialist labor, advanced workers and cooperativists, members of martyrs' families, veterans of the antifascist national liberation war, armymen, working people of scientific, education and cultural institutions and other guests.

Present was also the delegation of the Asambleista Workers Association of Spain. Attending were also heads and officials of the diplomatic representations accredited to the P.S.R. of Albania.

Comrade Haxhi Lleshi greeted those present on behalf of the party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the P.S.R. of Albania. The reception proceeded in a very joyful atmosphere.

BCP DAILY VIEWS RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA

AU291435 Sofia BTA in English 0830 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] Sofia, 29 Nov (BTA)--Prompted by Yugoslavia's national day RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorializes that the Bulgarian people and the Yugoslav peoples are two neighbours, close in origin and with quite similar historical fate. The BCP CC organ adds: "Our relations in the farther and more recent past have passed through various turnings and history has taught us that only goodneighbourliness, friendship and cooperation are to our mutual benefit and interest".

Further on the daily points out that the policy of Bulgaria has always been and is aimed at developing with all, and above all with her neighbouring countries, of friendly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation in the different spheres on the basis of equality and mutual respect. RABOTNICHESKO DELO adds: "We can say that such a policy is met with the understanding of the Yugoslav side".

The BCP CC organ points out that during the recent talks between the foreign ministers of Bulgaria and the SFRY Petur Mladenov and Josip Vrhovec the readiness of the two conversing parties to further develop bilateral relations on the basis of respecting the independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-violability of frontiers and non-interference in the domestic affairs with reciprocal respect of the two countries' international stands and especially the internal development of the two countries has been expressed.

As for the still pending matters in bilateral relations, the daily points out that they should not impede the development of Bulgaro-Yugoslav cooperation and efforts should be made to find solutions to them.

In conclusion RABOTNICHESKO DELO reads that a favourable political climate is being set up for goodneighbourly Bulgaro-Yugoslav cooperation in the different spheres.

PARTY DAILY MARKS ALBANIAN NATIONAL HOLIDAY

AU011359 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Nov 80 p 7

[Editorial note: "National Holiday of the Albanian People"]

[Text] Tomorrow the Albanian people will mark the 36th anniversary of the 29 November 1944 final liberation of Albania from the occupation of the German and Italian Fascists and their Albanian collaborators. That historic success of the people's continuous struggle was achieved after fierce battles conducted by the Albanian People's Liberation Army, created and led by the Albanian Communist Party--today called the Albanian Workers Party. That success was also a direct result of the victorious march of the Soviet Armed Forces, which at that time were defeating the main forces of the Fascist armies and liberating Europe's people from Nazism.

The relations and friendship between the Bulgarian and Albanian peoples, communists and antifascists strengthened in the struggle against Fascism. Those relations gained new meaning and potential during the years in which the two peoples began building socialism and established relations of fraternal and selfless mutual assistance.

Deep and revolutionary transformations took place in Albania after the 1944 people's victory. The structure of the old exploitive regime was completely destroyed and the building of the socialist economy began, as did the development of industry and productive agriculture. The vital force of socialist internationalism and mutual assistance--important factors for quick and successful progress--was effectively demonstrated in solving the tasks related to restoration, liquidating backwardness and beginning socialist building.

Today there are many new and rich opportunities to broadly develop good, fruitful, mutually beneficial and equal relations between our two socialist countries. [paragraph continues]

The utilization of such potential is in full accord with our peoples' lasting common interests and in the spirit of the friendship established during the struggles for national liberation and against fascism and capitalism. It is also consistent with the friendly cooperation established after the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and Albania.

The party and state leadership of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, with the full approval of our entire people, has always expressed readiness to strengthen and expand relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, something which will be a valuable contribution to the cause of peace and socialism in the Balkans and on our continent. That readiness was once again confirmed in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech at the 11 February, 1980, session of the Fatherland Front National Council, in which it was stressed that Bulgaria is in favor of normalizing and developing relations between Bulgaria and Albania.

The Bulgarian people take the opportunity of the national holiday of the Albanian people to convey its cordial greetings and wishes for new successes along the road of socialism, peace and prosperity and expresses its desire to develop fruitful relations between our countries.

TODOROV CONTINUES TALKS IN PDRY, ENDS VISIT

AU021110 Sofia BTA in English 0830 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Aden, 2 Dec (BTA)--Yesterday Mr Stanko Todorov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and prime minister of Bulgaria, returned to Aden from his tour of the Hadramawt Province.

The day before in the town of Sauin he took part in the celebrations of the independence day of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Mr Stanko Todorov and Mr Sali Muhammad Jubran, first secretary of the provincial committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, delivered speeches.

Mr Todorov said that the Bulgarian people are happy with the progress made by their Yemeni friends in the years of independent development. "The socialist community countries, led by the Soviet Union, socialist Bulgaria are with you in the implementation of the enormous task you have set to fulfill--the transition to socialism", said Mr Stanko Todorov.

The official talks between Mr Stanko Todorov and Mr 'Ali Nasir Muhammad continued today. Mr Todorov directed special attention to Bulgaria's principled foreign policy aimed at development of friendship and cooperation between the peoples, to consolidation of peace and support of the liberating and democratic movements. He reviewed the international situation and underlined the necessity of rallying all world's progressive forces against the attempts of imperialism to restore its lost positions, to step up the arms race and push mankind towards a new 'cold war'.

Mr Stanko Todorov underlined in particular Bulgaria's clear and consistent policy towards the problems of the Middle East.

Bulgaria insists on liberation of all the Arab territories occupied by Israel, on recognition of the right of the people of Palestine to self-determination and to their own state, with the participation in all negotiations on this issue of the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine--the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Mr 'Ali Nasir Muhammad spoke of the efforts made by his country to overcome the backwardness inherited from colonial times and to build sound foundations of the national economy. He pointed out that Democratic Yemen believes in the correctness of the chosen course to socialist development and that the Yemeni Socialist Party sees in it a guarantee for a socio-economic turn towards which the people are striving.

During the talks confidence was expressed in the strength of the working people of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and it was stressed that they can rely on the help of the socialist countries. Mr 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and Mr Stanko Todorov discussed the state of bilateral relations. Their positive assessment was unanimous and they pointed out that there are still many possibilities for strengthening and extension of these relations. The party and state leaders of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen made his Bulgarian guest familiar with the stand of his country on a number of international issues. He stressed that the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen firmly stands on anti-imperialist postions, that she wishes to strengthen relations with the socialist states and the progressive newly liberated countries. Democratic Yemen resolutely supports the struggle of the Middle East peoples against the imperialist plots, Zionist aggression and Arab reaction.

The official and friendly visit of Mr Stanko Todorov to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen ends today.

TALKS WITH SYRIAN BA'TH DELEGATION OPEN 1 DEC

AU011512 Sofia BTA in English 1332 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Sofia, 1 Dec (BTA)--Talks began here today between a delegation of the CC of the BCP, led by member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CC of the BCP Grisha Filipov, and a delegation of the Syrian Arab Socialist Renaissance (Ba'th) Party, led by the party Deputy Secretary General 'Abdallah al-Ahmar.

The talks are proceeding in a spirit of understanding and in friendly atmosphere.

The Syrian party delegation arrived here yesterday at the invitation of the CC of the BCP. The seven-day programme of the guests also includes a tour of Bulgaria.

AFGHAN DELEGATION SEEN OFF BY PARTY OFFICIALS

AU021102 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] The delegation of the Afghan People's Democratic Party, headed by Nur Ahmad Nur, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Afghan People's Democratic Party Central Committee, as well as member of the Presidium of the Afghan Revolutionary Council, left our country this morning.

At Sofia airport the Afghan guests were seen off by Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary and by high-ranking officials of the BCP Central Committee.

NICARAGUAN DELEGATION CONTINUES SOFIA VISIT

Received by Zhivkov

AU011450 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Sofia, 1 Dec (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received here today a party and government delegation of Nicaragua and the Sandinista Front, led by Mr Jaime Wheelock and Mr Henry Ruiz, members of the national leadership of the Sandinista Front.

Expansion of bilateral economic cooperation was discussed, as well as the strengthening of contacts between the BCP and the Sandinista Front. The necessity of strengthening international solidarity with the struggle of the people of Nicaragua in defence of the revolutionary achievements and for complete independence was unanimously underlined. The Nicaraguan delegation arrived here yesterday.

Meeting With Bozhinov, Lukanov

AU011510 Sofia BTA in English 1445 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Sofia, 1 Dec (BTA)--A party and government delegation of Nicaragua and of the Sandinista Front, led by Mr Jaime Wheelock and Mr Henry Ruiz, members of the national leadership of the Sandinista Front, met today Mr Todor Bozhinov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and first deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council, and Mr Andrey Lukanov, candidate-member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council.

The guests reported on the situation in Nicaragua and on the attempts of the USA to destabilize the situation in that country. "The revolution in Nicaragua impeded the imperialist expansion of the USA on the American Continent", underlined Mr Jaime Wheelock.

Possibilities for raising the effectivity and efficiency of cooperation between Bulgaria and Nicaragua in the sphere of planning were discussed, as well as in the spheres of industrial joint production, construction of joint projects, in the relations of payment, in mechanical engineering, training of managers and specialists, in economic prognostication and in agriculture.

Mr Bozhinov underlined that Bulgaria is ready to develop cooperation with Nicaragua in all spheres of life.

"Bulgaria is a country of great experience in the construction of socialism and we want to make the most of this experience", stressed Mr Jaime Wheelock.

CONTINUED REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY PRK LEADER HENG SAMRIN

Joint Communique

AU291631 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Nov 80 p 2

["Joint Bulgarian-Kampuchean communique" on the visit of a Kampuchean delegation, headed by Heng Samrin, chairman of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation and of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council to Bulgaria, 21-25 November 1980]

[Text] At the invitation of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a delegation of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation [KNUFNS] and of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council [KPRC], headed by Heng Samrin, chairman of the KNUFNS and KPRC paid an official friendly visit to Bulgarian 21-25 November 1980.

Comrade Heng Samrin laid a wreath and paid his respects at the mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov--the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people, the outstanding figure of the international communist and workers movement.

The delegation of the KNUFNS and KPRC, visited economic projects and historical and cultural sites in Sofia, Varna and Tolbukhin Okrugs and was briefed on the Bulgarian People's achievements in building socialism. The delegation also attended a Bulgarian-Kampuchean friendship rally. The delegation was welcomed with warm hospitality, an expression of the friendship existing between the Bulgarian and Kampuchean peoples.

Official talks were held between Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council, and Heng Samrin, chairman of the KNUFNS and KPRC, which proceeded in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and confirmed the full unanimity of views existing on all questions discussed.

The following officials participated in the talks:

On the Bulgarian side: Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the State Council; Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the State Council; Petur Mladenov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs; Milko Balev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chief of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's cabinet; Kiril Zarev, member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Khristo Khristov, member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of foreign trade; Radoy Popivanov, member of the BNAU Permanent Board and minister of national health; Panka Babukova, first deputy minister of national education; Mincho Pankov, first deputy chairman of the National Agro-Industrial Union, and Simeon Dimitrov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Kampuchea.

On the Kampuchean side the following officials participated in the talks: Hun Sen, member of the KNUFNS and Central Committee member of the KPRC, minister of foreign affairs; Ven Chan, member of the KNUFNS Central Committee and of the KPRC and minister of education; Chea Soth, chairman of the National Revolutionary Committee of Phnom Penh and minister of planning and economic cooperation with foreign countries, Men Chhan, member of the KNUFNS Central Committee and minister of agriculture, as well as Meas Samnang, ambassador of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to our country; (Tong Chan), deputy minister of domestic trade; (Cheng Phong), deputy minister of information, press, culture, tourism and sports; and (Nut Savuen), deputy minister of health and social affairs.

The two leaders briefed each other on the tasks which their countries are accomplishing, they reviewed the bilateral relations and exchanged opinions on a number of current international issues.

The two leaders ascertained with satisfaction, that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Kampuchea are successfully developing and confirmed their two countries' desire to work for their further expansion and intensification.

The delegation of the KNUFNS and of the KPRC, ardently greets the successes achieved in building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria--which are the results of the Bulgarian people's selfless efforts, the results of the correct policy and leadership of the BCP, the results of the indestructible Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, and the results of the fruitful cooperation between Bulgaria and the other fraternal, socialist countries.

The Kampuchean side wishes the Bulgarian people even greater successes in worthily greeting the 12th BCP Congress.

The Kampuchean side expressed its high appreciation of the active, peace-loving foreign policy, conducted by the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a policy aimed at strengthening peace, security and good neighborliness, as well as the development of mutually advantageous cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

The Bulgarian delegation expressed gratitude for the readiness expressed by the Kampuchean side to mark in a suitable manner the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state's founding.

The Bulgarian side expressed satisfaction at the successes achieved by the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the KPRC in restoring their country, and expressed and confirmed its readiness to continue in the future to render assistance to Kampuchea in defending the achievements of the revolution and in building a new Kampuchea.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria once more declared that the KPRC is the only legitimate representative of Kampuchea, having the full right to settle all questions of domestic and foreign policy of that country. Declaring itself against the illegal occupation of Kampuchea's place in the United Nations, by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique, the Bulgarian side expressed its full support to the just demand of the People's Republic of Kampuchea that its representatives should occupy the place assigned to Kampuchea in the United Nations and in all other international organizations, as well as in the non-aligned countries movement.

The Bulgarian delegation expressed its support for the policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea aimed at the development and intensification of friendship and fraternal cooperation with the USSR and with the other countries belonging to the socialist community. It highly appreciates the policy of peace, understanding and nonalignment conducted by the People's Republic of Kampuchea--a policy of peace aimed at establishing relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries, and in particular, with the countries of Southeast Asia, a policy based on the principles of equal rights and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

The Bulgarian side condemns the intrigues of the hostile forces opposed to the Kampchean people and directed against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The changes which have occurred in Kampuchea are irreversible and all kinds of maneuvers aimed at interference into the domestic affairs of this country, including attempts to use the United Nations and other international organizations for that purpose, are doomed to failure.

The Kampuchean side is grateful to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to the Government and people of Bulgaria and to the BCP for the international assistance and support which they are according to the Kampuchean people in their struggle against colonialism, American imperialism, hegemonism and expansionism; in building a peaceful, independent, democratic, nonaligned Kampuchea advancing toward socialism.

Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Heng Samrin, chairman of the KNUFNS Central Committee and of the KPRC signed a treaty of cooperation and friendship between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which is a document of historical importance in the relations of the two countries, a document which marks a new stage in the development of friendship and cooperation between the two peoples.

During the visit of the Kampuchean delegation to Bulgaria the following documents were signed: A consular convention, an agreement on abolition of visas, an agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation, an agreement on merchant navigation, an agreement on air traffic, an agreement on exchange of foods and payments, an agreement on economic, scientific and technical cooperation and an agreement on cooperation in the health protection sector.

In exchanging opinions on current issues of the international situation, the two sides expressed their deep concern about the complication of the international situation, the whole responsibility for which is carried by imperialist, reactionary and hegemonistic circles. Those circles are trying to stop the progressive historical changes and shift the balance of world forces to their own advantage. They are trying to undermine detente and to turn the world back to the time of the "cold war."

The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the People's Republic of Bulgaria denounced that policy of intensifying military danger and once more expressed their firm resolve to continue in the future to consolidate detente as the prevailing trend in international relations. They appealed to all peace-loving nations to join their efforts against the danger of nuclear war, to preserve and consolidate peace and stop the armaments race and on behalf of disarmament and developing mutually advantageous cooperation.

The two delegations expressed their high appreciation of the contribution made by the USSR and the other socialist countries in consolidating peace, detente and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world and their international support and assistance to the peoples' struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and expansionism.

The participants in the negotiations condemned the decision adopted by NATO under pressure from the United States, for the production and deployment of new types of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, which threatens peace and security in Europe and the world. At the same time the two sides stressed that successful implementation of negotiations on medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe at the initiative of the USSR and simultaneous negotiations on the question of the forward-based U.S. nuclear equipment will contribute to limiting the armaments race on the European Continent and to consolidating peace and international security.

The two delegations stressed the exceptional importance of the peaceful initiatives launched in May 1980 at the session of the Warsaw Pact Consultative Committee, including the proposal to call a summit meeting attended by national leaders from all regions of the world in order to discuss the problem of liquidating hotbeds of international tension and of preventing war.

The two sides expressed their hope that the Madrid meeting of representatives of CSCE member-countries will proceed in a constructive spirit and be successfully concluded. They stressed the great importance of achieving an agreement on calling a conference on problems of military detente and disarmament in Europe.

The two sides resolutely condemned the conspiracy between the Chinese leadership and American imperialism, as well as their policy in Southeast Asia, a policy aimed at exacerbating tension and at provoking differences between countries, in contradiction to the vital interests of the peoples living in that area, against their will to live as good neighbors and to develop their mutually advantageous cooperation.

The two delegations welcomed the successes of the peoples of Vietnam and Laos along the path of socialist construction for the defense of their independence and sovereignty.

The two sides stressed that the consolidation of militant solidarity, friendship and close, fraternal cooperation among the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the SRV and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, is strengthening the position of socialism and represents an important contribution to the cause of peace, security and cooperation in Southeast Asia.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is supporting the constructive initiative of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, of the SRV and of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, aimed at transforming Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation. The People's Republic of Bulgaria welcomes the proposals submitted by the conference of foreign ministers of the three Indochinese countries, held in July 1980 in Vientiane, which represents a basis for the preservation of peace and security in that part of the world.

The two sides confirmed their solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Afghanistan to defend the achievements of their April revolution and highly appreciate the international assistance of the USSR in defending the sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan. The two sides once more expressed their full support to the well-known proposals submitted by the Government of Afghanistan on 14 May 1980 regarding normalization of the situation in that area.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Kampuchea denounce the concentration of considerable armed forces of the imperialist countries, and above all of the United States, in the Indian Ocean and in the Persian Gulf. They condemn the expansion of existing and the establishment of new military bases and the attempts to create new military-political blocs. Such actions, as well as the establishment of the so-called U.S. "Rapid Deployment Force," seriously threaten the security of the countries in that area, as well as peace throughout the world. The two sides support the idea of transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

The two delegations confirmed their firm support to the Arab people's struggle rejecting separatist deals. The two sides expressed their conviction that the just and lasting settlement of the crisis in the Middle East can be achieved only after the full and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, only after implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right of self-determination and of establishing their own independent state and only after safeguarding the sovereignty and security of all states in that area. The two sides pointed out that the settlement of the Middle East problem must take place with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO--which is the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea expresses great concern about the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, which is harmful to the interests of both peoples and aggravates tension in this area and throughout the world. The two sides declare themselves in favor of prompt settlement of the conflict between the two countries by peaceful means.

The two sides once more confirmed their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin American for national independence and social progress, against imperialism colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid.

The two sides noted the important role played by the nonaligned countries movement in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, disarmament and detente.

The two sides expressed their conviction that the official, friendly visit of the KNUFNS and KPRC, headed by Heng Samrin, chairman of the KNUFNS Central Committee and of the KPRC, to Bulgaria, as well as the results of the talks and the documents signed will contribute to further intensifying and expanding friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian and Kampuchean peoples.

The KNUFNS and KPRC delegation expresses its sincere gratitude to the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as to the Bulgarian people for the warm hospitality accorded to the delegation.

On behalf of the KNUFNS Central Committee and on behalf of the KPRC, the Kampuchean delegation invited a party and state delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, to pay an official friendly visit to the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Friendship Treaty

AU281626 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Nov 80 pp 1-2

["Treaty of Friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Kampuchea" signed on 25 November 1980 in Sofia by Todor Zhivkov and Heng Samrin]

[Text] The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Kampuchea,

Basing themselves on the relations of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance existing between them, relations based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism;

Being firmly convinced that further development and intensification of those relations is in accordance with the basic interests of the peoples in the two countries and contributes to the consolidation of peace and security throughout the world;

United in the struggle against imperialism, hegemonism, and expansionism, and for the final liquidation of colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, in solidarity with the peoples who are fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress,

Inspired by the resolve to cooperate in consolidating peace and security in Europe, Asia and throughout the world, and to contribute to further developing and expanding relations among states with different social systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and in accordance with the goals and principles laid down on the basis of the United Nations Charter,

And taking into consideration the joint Bulgarian-Kampuchean declaration signed on 2 October 1979, as well as their desire to expand and strengthen relations upon a legal-contractual basis, agreed upon the following:

Article 1. The two high contracting sides, guided by principles of proletarian internationalism, will develop and strengthen the relations of fraternal friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the basis of equal rights, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and on the basis of non-interference in each other's affairs.

Article 2. The two high contracting sides will consolidate and expand their economic, scientific-technical cooperation on the basis of mutual advantage and fraternal mutual assistance.

The two sides will closely cooperate in the field of culture, education and mass information media, in the sectors of health protection and sports; they will cooperate and contribute to the further comprehensive development of cooperation among the trade unions and youth, women's and other social organizations of the two countries.

Article 3. The two high contracting sides, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will firmly and consistently contribute to further comprehensively developing and consolidating cooperation and unity among fraternal socialist countries.

Article 4. The two high contracting sides will continue to work actively for the development of relations among states with different social systems in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence; they will wage a consistent struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and expansionism, for the final liquidation of colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, in all their forms and manifestations.

The two high contracting sides will also continue to support the just struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, for the consolidation of their independence, and for social progress.

Article 5. The two high contracting sides will continue to contribute actively to the struggle for peace and security in the world; they will devote efforts to intensifying international detente and to transforming it into comprehensive and irreversible process for achieving universal and full disarmament.

Article 6. The two high contracting sides will mutually brief and consult each other on questions of bilateral relations and on important international problems of mutual interest.

Article 7. This treaty does not affect the rights and obligations of the two high contracting sides on bilateral and multilateral agreements by which they are committed.

The two high contracting sides commit themselves not to sign any international agreements that contradict this treaty.

Article 8. This treaty is subjected to ratification and will become valid on the day of the exchange of ratification documents which will take place in Phnom Penh.

Article 9. This treaty is signed for 25 years and will automatically be prolonged for another period of 10 years, if neither of the two contracting sides declares in writing 1 year in advance of the term, elapsing that it wishes to renounce the treaty.

Article 10. Drafted in Sofia, 25 November 1980 in two original copies each in Bulgarian, Khmer and French languages, the three texts being equally valid. In case of differences in interpretation of the Bulgarian and Khmer text, the French text will be considered as the authoritative one.

Signed for the People's Republic of Bulgaria: Todor Zhivkov

For the People's Republic of Kampuchea: Heng Samrin

Sofia Rally Speech

AU281951 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Nov 80 pp 1-2

[Speech delivered by Heng Samrin, chairman of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation and of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council at a Bulgarian-Kampuchean friendship rally, held on 24 November 1980 at the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Stanko Todorov,

Dear Bulgarian comrades and friends,

On behalf of the delegation of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation [KNUFNS] and on behalf of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, [KPRC], I convey to you, including on my own behalf, our most sincere gratitude for the cordial hospitality accorded to our delegation. In this festive and cordial atmosphere I would like to convey to the Bulgarian people the most sincere revolutionary greetings on behalf of the people in the People's Republic of Kampuchea. (stormy and prolonged applause).

On our arrival we saw the numerous achievements of the courageous Bulgarian people in all fields of development. That is why our feelings and our admiration for your people are increasing and you have set an example for us in reorganizing your country.

Since the end of World War II your workers class, working people and specialists have engaged in mass competition to implement your social and economic program. The Bulgarian people are following a correct economic policy, implemented under the leadership of the BCP, in close cooperation and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. With their constructive labor and efforts the Bulgarian people have transformed their once backward country into a prosperous socialist state with a modern economy, a developed agricultural sector and progressive culture and science. Life for the Bulgarian people is becoming more and more beautiful from day to day. Under the wise leadership of the BCP and of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the Bulgarian people are successfully building their developed socialist society, which is a great contribution to consolidating the socialist system as a whole.

We highly appreciate the peace-loving and principled policy conducted by the people's Republic of Bulgaria, a policy aimed at achieving true progress and at ensuring lasting peace throughout the world. We highly appreciate and wholeheartedly support the efforts of Bulgaria in creating an atmosphere of trust, good neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation with the Balkan states. That peaceful and consistent policy enhances the role and prestige of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which are constantly growing on the international scene.

On behalf of the KNUFNS Central Committee and on behalf of the KPRC, as well as on behalf of the entire people of Kampuchea, I convey wishes for great, new successes to the Bulgarian people in developing their country. (stormy applause).

Dear comrades and friends,

You know that after our liberation, the people of Kampuchea were deprived of everything. Everything had been stolen and totally destroyed by the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique. Towns were deserted, economic activities had been paralyzed. Educational institutions, temples, and administrative centers had been converted into prisons and places of torture, or into warehouses for weapons and ammunition. Our entire society had been destroyed. Starvation prevailed all over our country. Under the leadership of the true Marxist-Leninist regime of the KPRC and as a result of the resolute efforts devoted to the reorganization of our country our people achieved victory after victory in the agricultural and industrial sectors and in other fields. Hundreds of Kampucheans, who were suffering from infectious diseases or from sheer exhaustion, received medical care and could recover. Gradually plants began operating. Social and economic activities were resumed. The doors of educational institutions opened for more than a million secondary school and university students. As to our agriculture--it is also developing, despite the shortage of seeds and other materials that had been stolen by the criminal regime of the traitors Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan. who were paid by Beijing. Today more than 1 and 1/2 million hectares of land is being cultivated.

We are convinced that the danger of starvation has been eliminated. The faces of all Kampuchean people are radiating with hope for the future. Life is being increasingly stabilized and normalized. We have accomplished a great leap in our country's development.

Our government is being consolidated from day to day. Next year we are going to hold free elections on the basis of our new constitution.

Despite the fact that our successes cannot be denied, the Beijing expansionists, the imperialists and the other reactionary forces are still incorrigible. With all sorts of tricks and subversive activities they are trying to revive the regime of their puppets Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan in order to exacerbate the present situation in Southeast Asia, and Thailand is also participating in these activities. They are trying once more and they have taken the opportunity to mislead international public opinion within the United Nations and conduct a policy of interference into the domestic affairs of Kampuchea.

They are trying to destroy all achievements of our revolution and are trying to impede us in our task of building up our country. Nevertheless, we are firmly convinced that they will fail forever. No force is capable of preventing the just cause of our revolution. We are proceeding with more and more resolute and firm steps toward progress and toward our socialist ideal. The situation in Kampuchea is irreversible. The people of Kampuchea are the masters of their own destinies. (prolonged applause) The KPRC is the only true representative of the people of Kampuchea and it is in control of the entire country. The KPRC must take its legitimate place at the United Nations and it insists on the expulsion of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique from that international organization. (prolonged applause) The KPRC thinks that the debates at the UN General Assembly on the question of Kampuchea without the participation of Kampuchea's representative represents gross interference in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and declares that any resolution stemming from such a debate is devoid of any value.

We are in favor of a policy of peace, good neighborliness and detente in the area of Southeast Asia and throughout the world. We are willing to consolidate our links of friendship, fraternity and cooperation with the brother peoples of Vietnam and Laos, as well as with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries. We also wish to maintain relations of friendship, good neighborliness and fraternity with all peoples of Southeast Asia, basing ourselves on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

We respect the treaties of friendship, cooperation and peace with all peoples, regardless of their political regimes, under the condition that they too respect our right of freedom, sovereignty and independence and provided that they do not interfere in our domestic affairs. We are conducting a policy of peace and solidarity for the creation of an atmosphere of trust, understanding and mutually advantageous cooperation.

The people of Kampuchea fully support the just struggle of the peoples for national liberation. The People's Republic of Kampuchea energetically denounces the maneuvers and hostile actions of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists against Vietnam and Laos. The People's Republic of Kampuchea wholeheartedly declares its solidarity with these two fraternal countries in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty. Kampuchea fully approves the selfless international assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to Afghanistan. The people of Kampuchea severely condemn the imperialists, colonialists, expansionists and reactionaries of the world who are trying by all means to cause harm to the Republic of Afghanistan.

Dear comrades and friends,

Permit me, from this lofty rostrum, on behalf of KNUFNS, on behalf of the KPRC, and on behalf of all the Kampuchean people, to express our profound gratitude to the BCP, the State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to all Bulgarian people for the assistance and support they are according the Kampuchean people in their struggle against the imperialists, the Beijing expansionists and reactionaries, as well as against their puppets Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan. (prolonged applause)

Our visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria has consolidated our relations of friendship and solidarity; it represents a contribution to the policy of peace and international detente and it is a considerable contribution to the development of the socialist community.

Long live the relations of solidarity and friendship between the Bulgarian and Kampuchean peoples! (stormy, prolonged applause)

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria! (stormy and prolonged applause)

Long live the socialist community! (stormy and very prolonged applause)

BCP Daily Interview

AU301603 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Nov 80 pp 1-7

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO interview with Heng Samrin, chairman of the Kampuchean National United Front of National Salvation, KNUFNS, and of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, during his stay in Bulgaria--date and place not given]

[Text] During the official, friendly visit of the delegation of the KNUFNS Central Committee and Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council [KPRC] to our country, Heng Samrin, leader of the delegation, chairman of the KNUFNS and the KPRC was kind enough to answer a few questions of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO Editorial Board, as follows:

Question: Comrade Heng Samrin, how do you evaluate the results of the Kampuchean delegation's visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria?

Answer: Despite the fact that our visit in Bulgaria was rather brief, we had an opportunity to visit many places and to become personally acquainted with the great achievements of the Bulgarian people in building socialism. We held fruitful exchanges of opinions with party, state and government leaders of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. During the talks, both sides stated that they have identical stands as regards relations between Kampuchea and Bulgaria, as well as in connection with other international issues. The results of our talks were reflected in a joint communique and in other documents which the two sides signed. This visit was crowned with extraordinary success.

Question: The Bulgarian people are following with feelings of sincere solidarity the constructive efforts of the KNUFNS and the KPRC to restore and consolidate the country. Would you be so kind as to dwell on the basic results achieved in the economic, social, political and defense sectors, after the country's liberation from the Maoist dictatorship of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan clique?

Answer: After the liberation on 7 January 1979, the situation in our country was both dangerous and difficult. Three million people had been killed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique, while those who survived were sick, having suffered physical and moral injuries. The economy and all other sectors of social life were destroyed. People had been forced to leave the towns and were imprisoned in concentration camps. At that time Kampuchea was a country without educational institutions, without hospitals, without cities, without any trade and even deprived of its national currency--all these things were prohibited and the temples were destroyed.

As a result of all this, the main task of our people and of the KPRC, after the liberation, was to begin the restoration and resurrection of the country starting from zero, since nothing existed anymore.

Thanks to our efforts and to the assistance and support accorded us by our fraternal socialist countries and by certain international organizations, Kampuchea settled the problem of safeguarding the people's lives. This established a beginning for the construction of the country. Our first task was to improve agriculture. Today 1 million hectares of land are producing rice throughout the country. Industrial and other enterprises in Phnom Penh have been restored--there are now over 50--and enterprises in some provinces have also resumed work. We introduced a new monetary unit. At the same time, most of the educational institutions were restored and are training over 1 million students today. Hospitals opened in many places, where people are being given efficient medical care. Health protection is rapidly developing. Public order and security have been fully restored. The people's government has been consolidated, and is truly a people's power today. At the beginning of 1981 we will hold general, free elections and a new Constitution will be adopted.

A review of our successes and victories shows that Kampuchea is advancing, despite the enemies' attempts to destroy our country. Thus, we can say that the development of Kampuchea is irreversible.

Question: Comrade Heng Samrin, how would you describe the progress in the political organization of the Kampuchean people, today, on the eve of general elections?

Answer: The People's Republic of Kampuchea is following a policy of peace, independence, neutrality, nonalignment and progress along the path of socialism. However, our enemies still persist in their actions aimed at destroying the Kampuchean revolution. Our enemies are the American imperialists and the Chinese expansionists, in their criminal alliance with the international reactionary forces.

Nevertheless, the people of Kampuchea are struggling by all means to defend their independence and sovereignty. Today our people enjoy true independence and sovereignty. As I already mentioned, a draft project for a new Constitution has been worked out and will be adopted after thorough discussions. Our general, free elections will take place at the beginning of 1981.

Our interests are incompatible with the interests of our enemies. Our convictions are opposed to the maneuvers of the enemies. As a result of this, there is no "Kampuchean question" and there can be no "international conference on Kampuchea." Neither can there be any elections under the control of the United Nations, as the imperialists and their supporters in Southeast Asia wish to force on us.

Our general, free elections will take place under the control of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea. There is a distinct difference between the people and the patriots, on one side, and the reactionaries and people's traitors on the other. There is no reason to permit the enemies of the people's revolution, whom we defeated in the armed struggle, to be candidates in our elections.

Question: It is a well-known fact that imperialism and Maoism cannot resign themselves to the defeats of their plans suffered as regards Southeast Asia, and in particular as regards the countries of Indochina. How can you describe their hostile activities against the People's Republic of Kampuchea at the present stage of development?

Answer: The American imperialists and Chinese expansionists not only do not resign themselves to their defeat, but also have recourse to the ruling circles in Thailand in order to collect the remnants of the defeated Pol Pot armed forces and to rearm them. Their goal in doing so is to launch these gangs in sabotage and subversive activities on the territory of Kampuchea. Their purpose is more specifically to create tension at the borders and to deprive the Kampuchean people of their peaceful life.

Thus, for example, on 23 June, 1980, the reactionaries, with the participation of the Thai Armed Forces, violated the territorial integrity and air territory of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This is a fact that cannot be denied. They have recourse to all sorts of perfidious maneuvers in order to destroy the Kampuchean revolution and to restore the power of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique, so that this clique may again commit genocide against the Kampuchean people. Within the United Nations the reactionary forces are doing everything within their power to stop the progress of the Kampuchean revolution and to deprive us of the opportunity to conduct our foreign policy in a normal way, despite the fact that Kampuchea has consistently manifested its good will and principled approach.

The goal of the Beijing expansionists today, as in the past, is to establish control over Indochina-Southeast Asia. One of the strategic tricks of Beijing is to split the Indochinese peoples and separate them from each other, as well as to put them opposite ASEAN and to destroy their aspirations for peaceful negotiations among the countries of this area. For the Beijing expansionists, the expression to "fish in troubled waters" is a slogan which they actively apply in real life.

Question: The KNUFNS and the KPRC of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have won the respect and sympathy of numerous people in the world with their active peace-loving policy. What are the primary goals and tasks now of the foreign policy conducted by the People's Republic of Kampuchea?

Answer: In our foreign policy, we do everything necessary to consolidate and develop the strategic alliance of Kampuchea with Vietnam and Laos, and particularly the relations of militant solidarity, friendship and cooperation of these three countries with the Soviet Union and all fraternal socialist countries, as well as with the other progressive forces in the world on the basis of proletarian internationalism. Firmly relying upon the support of the fraternal countries, we are striving to achieve an increase in international assistance and support. We also take diplomatic steps as regards the ruling circles in Thailand and the other ASEAN member-countries in order to achieve peace and stability on the borders with Thailand.

Under the present circumstances, we are striving to take our place at the United Nations and to participate in all the various international organizations. As regards our enemies, our policy does not envisage any surrender to them. However, our principle is "to win friends rather than make enemies."

Hun Sen Press Conference

AU241645 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 24 Nov 80

[Text] On 24 November in Sofia, Hun Sen, Kampuchea's minister of foreign affairs, gave a press conference for Bulgarian and foreign journalists. He stressed that the visit of the delegation of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation and the People's Revolutionary Council is contributing exceptionally to further strengthening the fraternal alliance between the two peoples.

"The results of the visit in Bulgaria," the Kampuchean minister stressed, "proved the identity of the two countries' positions on all major problems of our time."

Hun Sen gave an exceptionally high assessment of Bulgaria's efforts to contribute to detente.

Hun Sen Scores U.S.

AU241940 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 24 Nov 80

[Text] Sofia, 24 Nov (BTA)--Today Mr Hun Sen, minister of foreign affairs of Kampuchea, accused the United States, China and Thailand of interference in the internal affairs of his country.

Mr Hun Sen, who is a member of the Kampuchean party and governmental delegation visiting Bulgaria, said at a press conference in Sofia that Thailand has to bear the complete responsibility for the situation along the Kampuchea-Thailand border and for the tension that has been fomented in the relations between the two countries.

"The Peking expansionists and imperialists and the other reactionary forces are presenting a distorted picture of the reality in Kampuchea with a view to destroying the revolutionary acquisitions of the country. They are seeking to restore the regime of genocide on our territory and to convert Kampuchea into a source of tension and instability in Indochina" said the Kampuchean foreign minister. He said that the hegemonists (?of Beijing and other) ASEAN countries are making slanderous statements about Kampuchea, brutally attacking Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

"The situation in Kampuchea is irreversible and will remain irreversible. The People's Revolutionary Council is the sole legitimate representative of the people of Kampuchea, which is actually ruling the entire country. It is our wish to establish relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries of Southeast Asia, relations based on the principles of mutual respect and the settlement of conflicts with peaceful means," Hun Sen said.

REPORTAGE, COMMENT ON POLISH SITUATION CONTINUES

Propaganda Pretext for West

LD012248 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Miroslav Zizka commentary]

[Text] The critical situation in Poland has again served as a pretext for stepping up the barrage of psychological warfare. The West German journal WEHRKUNDE openly says: Psychological aggression is the most important part of modern warfare.

At a time when the imperialist part of the world has increasingly limited possibilities to realize its goals by military means, it is declaring in connection with Poland a mobilization of over 13,000 broadcasting stations and transmitters beamed to the socialist states. They are pouring out their half-truths, misinformation and lies day and night. Secret services are recruiting further experts for export of counterrevolution. Emigre circles are being activated. At the same time, large sums in foreign currencies will go to the coffers of antisocialist groups in the Polish People's Republic. And the Western press is giving well-meaning advice and directives.

Counterrevolutionary aims of the West have not changed but the methods are different. From military threats, war brinkmanship, economic restrictions and blockades, and extreme slanders, the anticommunist centers are going over to gentler methods. A doctrine of "destabilization of socialism" is appearing, which is proceeding from the need for partial, gradual and at the same time a kind of pseudo-progressive influence on developments in order to damage the socialist system. Feelings of sympathy with the striking workers are being voiced and their unrealistic demands are incited. And all this under the slogan of "renewal of socialism." At the same time, these centers extensively and with sophisticated psychology concentrate on the thinking of those sections of society which lack awareness, and on exploiting nationalism and religion.

Under the circumstances, it is worthwhile to devote our attention to the considerations around Polish loans. The paper NEW REPUBLIC, for example, says: The United States provided Poland with special terms, hoping that closer contact with the West will lead to gradual liberalization--meaning giving a freer rein to antisocialist forces in the country.

Against the background of these interests it is natural that the West should approve of the new Polish trade unions. The praise of the general secretary of NATO, former Dutch Nazi Luns, or the praise of Italian neofascists whom Walesa, the leader of the new trade unions, even cordially thanked for their good feelings in the journal DISSENSO, are of particular interest.

State Power 'Weakening'

AU011422 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Nov 80 p 7

[Jan Lipavsky Katowice dispatch: "Our Reporter Teletypes From Katowice: Escalation of Demands and Tension"]

[Text] Jerzy Urban of the weekly POLITYKA could not express the present state of social atmosphere in Poland more aptly than he did by using the expression "fever." And this feverish state, destructive and exhausting for the entire social organism, has lasted 4 months now. There is almost no day that is without a strike somewhere, or the threat of strike if the government does not release further means to raise wages or does not carry out some kind of cadre measure. And the lines in front of the food shops are becoming longer every day. On the other hand production is either stagnating, or dropping.

Everywhere throughout the country one feels tension and concern for what tomorrow will bring. The conflict between the railroad workers, or rather Solidarity, and the Ministry of Transportation--about the method of carrying out wage increases, and preceded by strikes and demonstrative removing of railroad uniforms--has scarcely been alleviated and the country is again in the throes of another conflict: one between the Mazowiec Solidarity and the Ministry of Interior of the Polish People's Republic, because Solidarity had made illegal copies of, and published, a document protected as a state secret and concerning the prosecution of antisocialist elements. Many people are asking how such a paper could, in fact, get into Solidarity's hands; who had handed it over or stole it; who was interested in its being publicized and why? Those who know what the protection of a state secret means are also able to grasp that there was no other way than to prosecute and punish the culprits. But the Mazowiec Solidarity and its leadership regard it as an attack on their very existence.

This week the miners in the Katowice area also threatened to occupy the Ministry of Metallurgy. They carried out a warning strike for several hours, and all this only because they demand higher wages than those originally agreed on.

Jerzy Urban wrote very fittingly: The current revival is combined with acts like accusations, protests, opposition, clamor, pressure and excitement--and not by organizing, consolidating, creating, rationalizing, helping, or programming. He--like millions of Polish citizens--sees the cause of this phenomenon in the fact that "state power is the now weakening factor of the system of balance."

A telling example: The representatives of workers commissions, who had set up the committee and organization "Solidarity of 60 mines" and who had assembled in the "House of Culture" of the Wujek mine, rejected the formerly adopted agreement on wage increases and are now demanding another, more costly and far more exacting solution of the wage problem. Nobody is interested in where the national treasury--depleted as it is--is to get the 3-3.5 million zlotys needed. They want all this immediately and now, and they threaten mass strikes. In order to achieve it, they seized the hall of the "House of Culture" at the mine until, as Dzienik Zachodni wrote, the entire matter was positively solved. At the same time let us add that 15 million tons are lacking in fulfilling this year's coal extraction plan, that winter is on the threshold, and that many households and plants are already suffering a fuel shortage.

That policy of pressure also has other features, as I myself saw recently, with my own eyes, in the Katowice area. An uncomfortable director is led out of a plant's gates; honest people, and particularly party members, are tained by scandal. For instance, on 26 November I read in the illegal bulletin called WOLNY ZWIAZKOWIEC (FREE TRADE UNIONIST) an "open letter to party members," which stated verbatim: You have been foisted on Poland. All that is connected with you is foreign to our peoples. Socialism--why not; but only our own, Polish, socialism...

Why did the Mazowiec Solidarity become so defiant when one of its members was imprisoned for committing the punishable act of violating a state secret? B. Bujak, chairman of the Mazowiec "Solidarity," is actually "warning the government" that, should the apprehended men, J. Narozniak and Piotr Sapelo, not be immediately released, "we will proclaim the state of strike alert in selected plants in the Mazowiec area."

And it happened in the way Mr Bujak expected: Narozniak and Sapelo were released from custody on the basis of a guarantee supplied by S. Bratkowski, chairman of the Polish journalists' union.

Even more hypocritical ways of fighting the government exist. For instance, on 10 October the Bialski-Biala "Solidarity" appealed to the working people, saying that now honest work is needed, because higher wages are worth nothing if there are no goods. [paragraph continues]

And now the very same "Solidarity"--contrary to its former stand--is appealin for a state of strike alert and wants to carry out a general strike throughout the area if the entire secretariat of the party's voivodship committee and the leadership of the voivodship national council do not resign. The secretariat has turned to the Bialsko-Biala public in a letter characterizing this act of "Solidarity" as political extortion.

Poland is undergoing dramatic times. The people lining up in front of the shops are indignant over all this, and say: Enough; enough of this dangerous pressure game.

Antisocialist Threat

AU011445 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Nov 80 p 7

[Julius P. Loerincz commentary in the column "Foreign Policy Note": "Against Provocations by Irresponsible People"]

[Text] The reports coming from fraternal Poland (we glean them from the Polish press, PAP and our own reporter) present a picture of an uneasy situation in the country of our northern neighbors; a picture of the honest struggle of Polish communists, and of the working people marching with them, not only for a rectification of shortcomings and errors, but also against the onslaught of antisocialist forces. But quite a few reports are also alarming ones, particularly when they speak of repeated strikes, or of threats of strikes, which are incapaciting the disrupted economic life of the country and evoking political tension. It no longer has anything to do with rectification of mistakes, or with economic or social matters. It is obvious that the organizers are concerned with disrupting socialist structures and frequently with the "disposal of" honest people standing firmly for socialist positions; concerned with dismantling socialism. In consequence of the repeated concessions--as Jerzy Urban, Polish publicist, wrote in the weekly POLITYKA--the strikes have become a tool of extortion.

Lately things have gone so far that a group of "leaders" of the new "Solidarity" trade union organization demanded--under threat of strike, that a group of antisocialist elements be released from investigative custody. The group included Moczulski, who--by his publicly proclaimed concepts to reverse socialist development and to break up the alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries--has presented himself as an outright reactionary. And one of the prominent leaders of the Gdansk organization of "Solidarity," L. Walesa, sent--as the Italian paper MESSAGGERO testifies--a letter of thanks to an Italian fascist youth organization for its message of support. And all the time Walesa has been saying that he is no politician, but "just a trade unionist..."

As we also note today in this newspaper, the comrades from the PZPR and the Polish state bodies are determined to proceed more consistently against the provocations of irresponsible people, against the antisocialist forces whose activities, as PAP wrote in the case of the railroad workers' strike, are already threatening the country's national interests and security. We are in solidarity with the efforts aimed at effectively opposing the activities of antisocialist forces and gamblers. That is why we have received with interest and understanding the words of those representatives of the 30 trade unions, who stressed at their Warsaw meeting this Monday that the present double-rule [dvojvladi] cannot exist in the system of the people's power. They declare that it is impossible to bide time and to rely on patience in the face of those who are taking a stand above the PZPR, above the people and the state, and that it is necessary to go over to an offensive. This declaration is highly pertinent.

BONEV, BULGARIAN ASSEMBLY DELEGATION ARRIVE

LD011146 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] An official delegation of the People's Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic headed by Vladimir Bonev, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the BCP and chairman of the People's Assembly, arrived today on a visit to Czechoslovakia.

At Ruzyne Airport in Prague the delegation was welcomed by Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Federal Assembly, at whose invitation the visit is taking place, as well as by Jan Marko, Vaclav David and Dalibor Hanes, vice-chairmen of the Federal Assembly; Karol Laco, deputy federal prime minister, and other representatives.

Wreath Laying

LD011906 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] The delgation of the People's Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic headed by Vladimir Bonev, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the BCP, and chairman of the People's Assembly, which arrived in Prague today, has laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown warrior in the national memorial on the Zizkov Hill in Prague. Bulgarian deputies also paid their respects to the memory of that outstanding representative of the CPCZ and international communist movement, Klement Gottwald. Afterwards, in the Hall of the Soviet Army, members of the delegation paid their homage to the Soviet soldiers who fell in the liberation of Czechoslovakia. At Olsany Cemetery, the official delegation of the People's Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic paid homage to the memory of Bulgarian combatants and laid a wreath at their grave.

Meeting With Indra

LD012330 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2250 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Federal Assembly, in Prague today received an official delegation of the People's Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic led by Vladimir Bonev, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the BCP and chairman of the Bulgarian People's Assembly. In a cordial and comradely discussion he briefed the Bulgarian deputies on the fundamental objectives of our party and society stemming from the conclusions of the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and the impending tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

Comrade Vladimir Bonev spoke about the results of the Bulgarian working people in fulfilling the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan where attention is concentrated on the reconstruction and modernization of industrial capacities, raising the quality of production and saving raw materials, fuel and power.

Alois Indra pointed out some problems of our economy, particularly in the fuel and energy situation, the construction of investment projects, railroad transportation and foreign trade, which could be solved, above all, by improving the system of the planned management of the national economy. Comrade Indra further spoke about the activity of the Federal Assembly and stressed the importance of the consultative meetings of the representatives of parliaments of socialist countries. He also dealt with Czechoslovak-Bulgarian relations which are dynamically developing in all areas.

Comrade Bonev further spoke about the initiative of Bulgarian workers to the 12th BCP Congress. When he spoke about mutual relations, Comrade Bonev stressed that for their further intensification talks and deliberations of the highest party and state representatives of both countries, Todor Zhivkov and Gustav Husak, have great importance.

LOERINCZ SEES ANTISOCIALIST FORCES ACTIVE IN SFRY

AU0911802 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Nov 80 p 6

[Julius P. Loerincz article: "The Historical Day of New Yugoslavia--on 29 November; the Struggle That Still Continues" capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] During the 35 postwar years, Yugoslavia has travelled, under complicated conditions, quite a way on the path of building the socialist society. At the same time it belonged, together with the Soviet Union and Poland, among the countries that suffered the most in World War II under the boot of the Nazi invaders and their domestic allies.

True, this dynamic growth has for some time been accompanied by certain phenomena, which this year have again become strikingly obvious in the country's economic life and also in the social sphere.

It is typical that in this situation--and this is similar to instances in other socialist countries--we may note the onslaught of antisocialist forces; although in Yugoslavia they do not enjoy the support of the people's masses, they are nevertheless trying to evoke tension and unrest. They consist, for instance, of groups of elitist intellectuals who imagine that they have a monopoly on "grasping" problems or "determining the path" of the society's development. They also consist of people who regard the society from pro-Western conservative positions, and would like to adjust the society to this view. At the same time the most diversified elements are joining forces--renegades of the workers movement, and reactionary or even fascist emigrants abroad. For instance, Stane Dolanc, LCY Central Committee Presidium member, recently informed the public that the son of revisionist Djilas is now working aboard on the editorial board of a certain periodical of the fascist gendarme[Ustasha] movement.

THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS AND WORKING PEOPLE FOR THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF THEIR FATHERLAND IS THUS STILL GOING ON. NATURALLY, TODAY IT IS CONTINUING UNDER QUITE DIFFERENT CONDITIONS AND BY QUITE DIFFERENT METHODS, AND ALSO ON A LEVEL THAT IS QUALITATIVELY QUITE DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF MORE THAN THREE DECADES AGO, IN THE MOUNTAINS. BUT IT IS THE SAME EXACTING FIGHT, REQUIRING A REVOLUTIONARY AND CONSISTENT CLASS ATTITUDE, A MARXIXT-LENINIST CREATIVE APPROACH, AND EFFECTIVE WORK.

We are bound to Yugoslavia by relations of traditional friendship and a well-developing multilateral cooperation between our two countries, and between the CPCZ and LCY. True, side by side with the basic common goals there are dissimilarities in our concepts of building the socialist society; there are also differences in assessing certain international matters. But this does not prevent us from developing, exactly along the lines of the best traditions of our mutual relations, the living and prospering present and future of these traditions for the benefit of both our states and peoples, in the interests of stability, security and peace on the European Continent as well as in a broader international context.

RUDE PRAVO REVIEWS ALBANIA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

AU0115O3 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Nov 80 p 6

["(AU)"-signed article: "Before the Albanian Holiday"]

[Text] The history of every nation has dates that do not lose their greatness and significance with the passage of time. For the Albanian people such a date is 29 November. That day in 1944, saw the culmination of the fight against the fascist invaders. The date has since become a landmark in Albania's modern history and is now celebrated as the most significant national holiday.

The victory over foreign enemies and domestic reaction was paid for by the devoted, heroic fight of the people who had taken their place under the banner of the national liberation struggle. The fighters for Albania's freedom and independence underwent the greatest hardships and undauntedly shed their blood. The achievement of the final goal was favorably influenced by the Soviet Army's victorious progress and the crushing of fascist armies on the eastern front, which had relieved the encirclement by hostile army groups in southern Europe.

Simultaneously with the victory in the national liberation struggle, the people's rule was enthroned in the country and it directed the people's efforts toward building a new, socially just society. This revolutionary turn in Albania's life evoked unconcealed anger in the camp of imperialism; the young republic became the object of general pressure from international reaction. Domestic reaction was instigated from abroad against the people's power and subversionist undermining actions were organized; the great Western powers strove to achieve Albania's international isolation.

In that difficult period the Soviet Union and other socialist countries stood at the side of the Albanian people and granted them assistance and support in building up the country, as well as in their defense against foreign enemies.

The declaration on relations between Albania, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, issued by the Albanian Government in November 1956, state: "The liberation of the Albanian people from a century of bondage, the victory of the people's revolution, the creation and consolidation of the new socialist state could not have taken place without the Soviet Union's assistance and comprehensive selfless support... the Soviet Union always energetically defended the just cause of the Albanian people against intrigues, plots and imperialist oppression, against attempts to meddle in Albanian internal affairs."

In the sixties the Albanian leadership unilaterally oriented the country's relations toward China, to the detriment of the Albanian people and of the interests of socialism. As was shown by the documents recently published by the Albanian side, the Chinese leadership regarded Albania only as an advantageous tool of its hegemonist policy in Europe and dictated its own will to Albania. When the Albanian leadership dissociated itself from the Maoist intrigues, Beijing stopped all cooperation with Albania.

That experience stands in sharp contrast to the selfless cooperation based on equal rights, which developed in the preceding period between Albania and the socialist countries and which has left behind it striking successes in the work and life of the Albanian people.

The relations of Czechoslovak and Albanian people are based on foundations of mutual respect and friendship. The history of mutual cooperation confirms that its development had always benefited the peoples of both countries and also the cause of socialism. As in the past, the CSSR is prepared to develop economic and other relations with the People's Republic of Albania on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage, in the spirit of the principles followed by Czechoslovakia's foreign policy.

COMMENTATOR VIEWS REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, POLICY

AU011602 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Nov 80 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar article: "The Reagan Administration's New Team Is Being Created; Turns and Twists During the Times of Search"]

[Excerpt] The United States is now undergoing a period of so-called power vacuum. The period from the elections on 4 November up to 20 January, when the president-elect takes over office, is called a "lame-duck period" in the United States. [paragraph continues]

Although the departing President still has full authority, he does not want to intervene now in any serious matters of domestic or foreign policy, leaving all this for the president-elect's rule. The president-elect is undergoing a phase of getting acquainted with the presidential agenda and, self-evidently, is starting to get into the broad range of problems. And what is still more important, the president-elect is starting to select new Cabinet members for his government and is putting together a corps of advisers and assistants. Since the departing President is truly a "lame duck" with greatly clipped wings, the government's activity drops to zero. On the other hand a quiet battle is raging around the president-elect, for posts in the government and in the White House. It is no secret that the positions of closest advisers and helpers, from which one can best influence the president's decision, are the bone of contention in the battle between extreme rightwingers in the Republican Party and the party's more moderate and more liberal stream.

The president-elect will be unable "not to reward" those who helped him in the election campaign. They include Edwin Meese, chief of his election staff and probably the new administrative director of the White House; and William Casey, Richard Allen, Senator Paul Laxalt and Jesse Helms. These rightwingers are confronted by a more moderate conservative stream in the Republican Party, headed by Reagan's vice president, George Bush; and including former Secretary of State in the Nixon administration Henry Kissinger, and former Secretary of the Treasury George Schultz. We must also mention Alexander Haig, former commander of NATO troops in Europe. The group of ultrarightwingers is striving to reach the closest proximity to the president-elect, in order to eliminate the influence of the Bush-Kissinger pair. However, a commentary in the New York TIMES said that Reagan needs such seasoned people, because "he is arriving in the capital with less knowledge of the situation in Washington and in the world than any president before him."

The result of the battle between Republican radicals and liberals will undoubtedly mark the policy of the coming Reagan administration, although everybody with an opportunity to influence future U.S. policy will first have to realize the coorelation of forces in the world, and to realistically assess the situation. After all, even Ronald Reagan is arriving at the conviction that he needs experienced politicians, also in his own interest, so as not to land in compromising situations due to naive errors, as Carter did. There will be quite a few dangerous traps, particularly with regard to foreign policy. The extreme rightwing forces in the Republican Party will not be the only ones to insist that Reagan apply a "hardline policy" with regard to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries; from China, too, voices have been heard in support of an escalation of armament and of a hardline attitude toward the USSR.

It is not difficult to notice that all this advice is intended to complicate the task of the new Republican government and that it is detrimental to U.S. interests; and China is obviously starting to play the American card. Reagan should rather follow the advice voiced by the Washington POST, which said that the president-elect should make use of every opportunity for improving Soviet-American relations. Because, in fact, every sensibly thinking American knows that one must proceed not from negative dogmas, but from the present reality. As the top Soviet representative, Leonid Brezhnev, stated, every constructive step taken by the U.S. Government both in the sphere of Soviet-American relations, as well as in the sphere of urgent world problems, will meet with a positive reaction on the part of the Soviet Union.

RUDE PRAVO CRITICIZES SCHMIDT GOVERNMENT STATEMENT

LD261408 Prague CTK in English 0935 GMT 26 Nov 80

[Text] Prague, 26 Nov (CTK)--After Reagan's victory in the presidential elections Bonn ceased to speak about the demand for the ratification of the SALT II treaty and silently went over on Reagan's position of ignoring the treaty, RUDE PRAVO wrote today.

In an article on the government statement delivered by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to the West German parliament last Monday the dailys state that though nearly half of the statement was devoted to West Germany's foreign policy, the question of disarmament was not mentioned in it at all.

The old-new West German coalition did not even find enough courage to admit the negative influence of the NATO Brussels decision concerning missiles on the policy of detente. On the contrary, it supports the decision, and at variance with reality, speaks of a threat to detente from the East, the daily said. In the statement, Schmidt also intentionally did not speak about the role West Germany played in the preparations for the Madrid meeting as an advocate of the U.S. intention to put socialism in the pillory. He spoke of West Germany's efforts to continue cooperation with the G.D.R. but did not mention the West German interference in G.D.R.'s internal affairs, the daily wrote and added that West Germany's subordination to the (?U.S.) policy continues and that it dependence on the White House will be greater now than it was in the past.

ROLNICKE NOVINY REVIEWS SLOVAK FOOD SUPPLY

AU301230 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 26 Nov 80 pp 1, 2

[Milan Velko article: "Prior to the End of the Year"]

[Excerpts] Agricultural production in Slovakia should have increased more than 18 percent in the course of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. However, calculations show that the volume of gross production will be about 7.6 percent lower. Untapped potential still exists in grain growing, in bulk fodder production, potatoes, corn, sugar beets, fruits and vegetables. As regards animal production, especially beef cattle raising, we also have much to catch up with and to rectify. However, despite all that, one has to emphasize that--compared with the previous 5-year plan--agricultural production in Slovakia will increase about 10 percent.

This year's balance sheet of fulfillment of the main tasks in agriculture and the food industry provides much food for thought. The overall harvest of densely-sown cereals yielded 3,070,000 tons, which is almost 100,000 tons more than the plan envisaged.

A grave situation has arisen in potato growing and harvesting. The crop amounted to 730,000 tons, which is 344,000 tons of potatoes less than last year. The Ministry of Agriculture of the Slovak Socialist Republic and the Ministry of Trade of the Slovak Socialist Republic have undertaken steps to ensure the greatest possible part of the crop for the market and planting. The decision to purchase potatoes abroad for Kcs100 million in foreign currency belongs to these steps. As regards sugar beets, the situation is better. According to estimates, the crop will amount to 2,082,000 tons. This will be 20,000 tons more than last year. In view of the sugar beets' lower sugar content, it is very important to deliver all roots to the refineries. On the whole, a good result is expected in the production of sunflowers, thanks particularly to the excellent harvest in West Slovakia. The processing and storing of fruit and vegetables will also demand much attention in order to supply the market smoothly and with good products this winter.

The recent deliberations of the central party bodies oriented attention toward the use of bulk fodder while maximally conserving grain fodder. We harvested 5.5 million tons of corn for silage this year, and there was also a fairly good hay harvest.

In the first 9 months of the year, the food industry exceeded its gross production plan by 1.4 percent and deliveries to the market by 1.5 percent. [paragraph continues]

Export tasks are being successfully fulfilled. Developments on the domestic market are characterized by the overfulfillment of the planned deliveries of meat products, and a slightly increased demand for fats, flour, rice and sugar. However, reserves exist especially in satisfying the demand for meat [vysekove maso]. As regards the other basic types of foodstuffs, particularly poultry, milk, bread and other bakery products, fruits and vegetables, the supply situation is favorable.

TRADE UNION SEMINAR HELD ON LENINIST WORK STYLE

AU012018 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Nov 80 p 2

[Text] Tatranska Lomnica (CTK)--A 2-day Slovakia-wide seminar on the Leninist style, methods and forms of work of trade union organizations in the current conditions began in Tatranska Lomnica yesterday, with L. Abraham, CPSL Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Slovak Trade Union Council, attending. The deliberations are also being attended by P. Kuklis, deputy head of a CPSL Central Committee department; F. Brabenec, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Union; and by other guests. The seminar, which links up with the preceding deliberations, proceeds from the "Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of National Economy," which also brings new aspects to trade union work. The focus of the trade union work will shift to the material sphere. The task of the seminar is to explain to the ranking personnel of the trade union aktiv the economic function of trade unions, the mutual division of work between the all-trade union [vseodborove] and the sectional [svazove] bodies, and ways to deepen the economic activity of trade unions in all bodies and organizations of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in Slovakia.

TATRA ENTERPRISE HAD TENDENCY 'NOT TO ACCEPT' PLAN

AU011927 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Nov 80 pp 1,2

[Michal Podzimek article: "Prior to the Annual Meetings in Tatra Kolin; They Are Critically Assessing What Has Been Achieved"]

[Excerpts] Prague, 27 Nov--In the Tatra enterprise in Kolin at the beginning of November, the party all-enterprise committee, the enterprise committee of the trade union movement together with the youth union's all-enterprise committee and with the management of the enterprise, unequivocally agreed to adopt the 1981 good production plan amounting to Kcs535 million.

In the beginning there were tendencies not to accept such a great demand, because--as some of the ranking personnel claimed--there are no appropriate capacities to ensure it. However, the party all-enterprise committee emphatically argued: We are all interested in our socialist society's continued successful development, in maintaining and raising the standard of living. Therefore we, the producers, must deliver an increasing volume of good products, despite the difficulties connected with this.

In Tatra, they know well that untapped potential exists not only in production--in the use of working hours, in the organization of work and so forth--but also in the activity of the technical-economic personnel. More exacting tasks cannot be carried out without an initiative approach by every one of them. It is intolerable to keep on pleading that certain demands cannot be fulfilled because they are not included in their job description; equally, the useless mutual "correspondence" between individual departments often prevents a more flexible resolution of the run-of-the-mill tasks, and incorrectly replaces everyday comradely cooperation.

LER ANSWERS WORKERS' QUESTIONS ON 'SET OF MEASURES'

AU281145 [Editorial Report] Under the headline "What Workers Know and Want To Know About the Set of Measures," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 24 November 1980 both carry on page 3 a "concise transcript" of an undated roundtable discussion organized by the RUDE PRAVO editorial staff, devoted to the "Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy," which will go into effect on 1 January 1981. Participants in the discussion are Leopold Ler, chairman of the government Committee for Planned Economic Management and CSSR minister of finance, and six workers from various Czechoslovak enterprises.

Opening the discussion A. Samcova, an employee of the Jiskra plant in Tabor, asks Minister Ler whether there will be enough resources in future to buy spare parts for machinery purchased with foreign currency. Answering the question, Ler says that it is envisaged that "an enterprise that is fulfilling its export tasks well will have a foreign currency account from which it will be able to purchase various spare parts, raw materials and other materials, simply everything it needs to further improve its production. We believe that we can grant greater initiative to enterprises by enabling them, when they are fulfilling or even exceeding export tasks, to have foreign currency means of their own, so that they do not have to ask central bodies for everything." What is thus involved, according to Ler, is a combination of central management and local initiative: "We must guide the economy more precisely from the center, but at the same time we must create scope for the enterprises to cash in more on their own initiative, because enterprises are where the ideas and thoughts are born on how to improve day to day operations. That cannot be contrived by any minister or ministry from above." The "Set of Measures" creates "better prerequisites" for enterprise initiative, according to Ler.

In his statement Frantisek Cech, an employee of the Skoda Plzen enterprise, dismisses the views of "individuals" who present the "Set of Measures" "as some sort of bogey," and argues that "everyone who is honestly fulfilling his tasks has nothing to be afraid of." He also reports on the changing orientation in his enterprise from gross production volume to net production.

Responding to that statement Ler admits that the transition to the indexes of the "Set of Measures" is a "fundamental" one and will, therefore, require time before it is applied to the specific conditions of every enterprise. He also deplores that "in the past we abandoned a number of good things--such as the post of chief designer, chief of the technology department and so forth." It will therefore be necessary to return to them, according to Ler. The same applies to intra-enterprise khozraschet [cost accounting], according to the minister, which Klement Gottwald formulated as a principle of socialist construction but which was "deformed" or "abandoned" in the course of further development.

Speaking about her enterprise, Plastimat in Havlickuv Brod, worker M. Vasakova says that there, "it is no longer possible to raise labor productivity by tightening norms." She also points out that whereas most women in her enterprise are working in two shifts, men in engineering enterprises are mostly working in one-shift operations.

Minister Ler agrees that "in industry we have more work opportunities at machines than we have manpower. We have perhaps made a mistake by creating an excessive number of work opportunities." He adds, however, that it is not "merely a problem of men and women" but a "more profound problem," and points to the example of Hungary where even engineering plants operate in two shifts.

M. Vasakova also criticizes that "at present, we do not shop but are scratching about for things," and asks how the "Set of Measures" will contribute to improving the market situation.

In his answer Ler says that the "Set of Measures" was not introduced for the sake of changing indexes but "to help people get, for the money they earn, the goods on the market which they ask for:" "We want economic production units and individual enterprises to have binding tasks as to how much merchandise they should deliver to the market, and in accordance with that we will evaluate those who are in charge of production, technology and trade. Failure to fulfill binding deliveries for the domestic market will result in a reduction of the ranking personnel's remuneration by 20 percent or more. Second, we want enterprises to think about the delivery of new products for the domestic market, and about ways of supplying better quality products. The enterprises will profit from a mark-up of up to 30 percent of the wholesale price, which they can allocate to the remuneration fund and reward those producing such products. At the same time, enterprises which do not supply the required quality will be penalized. Third, we want every economic production unit and enterprise to have a binding 5-year plan to raise their products' quality."

However, the main prerequisite for improving the market situation is--according to Ler--"a balanced economy, so that wages have a counterbalance in the form of products on the market" and higher quality: "The share of products coming up to world standards is still insufficient. I think that our workers and technicians are capable of substantially raising that share. Here, too, we must differentiate, however. There are enterprises with ideas in their drawers capable of materializing them. But there are also enterprises that do not have ideas. Those must become reconciled to the fact that wages will differ from enterprise to enterprise. It is evident that there is no other way. We cannot anticipate that a leveling of remunerations will give rise to some special initiative. That is why it is the aim of the 'Set of Measures' to put an end to leveling."

In her next question M. Vasakova asks who is responsible for the shortage of consumer goods on the market: "When I am working honestly and fulfilling performance norms why should I have to hunt and scratch about for things which I need, and even that sometimes in vain?" She is joined by V. Petakova, an employee of the Tiba plant in Beroun, who asks who is responsible for the export of faulty products.

Ler replies: "That is really a serious question. We must wage a struggle against production anonymity. It will be a [slow] process but we must undergo it." He explains that according to the principles of the "Set of Measures," 20 percent of the ranking personnel's income will depend on the final effect of their work, which should enhance their accountability for production. He also points out that in contrast to the present situation not only the final producer but the subcontractors as well will be penalized for poor quality, once the "Set of Measures" goes into effect. Ler further mentions that to fight anonymity, "this year we began to implement the principle that someone in an enterprise is responsible for a penalty. For a certain penalty, the respective employee must pay from his own pocket up to 30 percent of the bonus that he would receive, had the penalty been anonymous." Ler admits, however, that the problem cannot be resolved "by issuing a decree."

The most important thing, however, is to focus attention on quality of work. Ler says: "Systems controlling the quality of work should be in force in all enterprises starting next year. Their introduction is being delayed for the time being and the collectives have to bear the consequences for it. But there is no other way. The fact that a penalty for poor quality work will prevent an increase of wages by 2 to 3 percent will jolt a collective."

K. Babacek, employee of the Central Bohemian timber works, suggests that profit stemming from overfulfilling the plan "should on no account be kept by the supra-ordinated economic unit but be placed at the services of enterprises or plants," to finance investment projects. A.Samcova, in turn, suggests that in the event of a tightening of norms, the work collectives should receive a part of the means thus saved.

Both suggestions are answered in the affirmative. According to Ler, the "Set of Measures" provides both for the enterprises' share in the profit acquired from overfulfilling the plan and for the collectives' share in profit stemming from "uncovered reserves."

In his next statement, Ler deals with the provisions of the "Set of Measures" designed to speed up scientific-technical development: "The enterprises' ranking personnel will be remunerated increasingly according to effectiveness achieved on foreign markets, profitability, productivity of basic assets, and the share of products rated as first quality. All that must prompt directors and ranking personnel at their consultations to raise the question of what is new in the way of technology, what are the proposals for improvement, and so forth. Enterprises must, so to speak, pamper each improver and innovator, and not cause them difficulties. Such is the attitude that must prevail in management."

Addressing another question to Minister Ler, worker Babacek says that "I have heard that in some instances there will be exceptions and that some branches will begin implementing the 'Set of Measures' at a later stage, or will be exempt from it."

Ler retorts: "I would like to say that what is involved are not exceptions. The fact is that we must apply the 'Set of Measures' to individual branches with sensitivity. That is why we decided that, for example, in mining we will not apply the index of performance proper [vlastni vykony], but will derive wage policy from natural [naturalni] indexes, that is, from coal production; and in the energy sector, in turn, from electricity production. The incentive segment, however, will be made dependent on the flexibility of the energy network and on supplies of the national economy with energy. In engineering and in both ministries of industry the 'Set of Measures' is being introduced without any specific adjustments. In the construction sector we will determine certain norms and make the management staffs materially interested in them, in order to reduce the number of projects simultaneously under construction. There are thus no exceptions. It must be said that not everything that is in the 'Set of Measures' has to be implemented as of next year. For example, in the course of the next 2 years we will carry out changes in wholesale prices--and one has to draw practical conclusions from that. Hence, the 'Set of Measures' becomes fully effective as of 1 January 1981, but in certain respects its application will be carried out gradually.

Commenting in his next answer on the application of material incentives in research and development, Ler notes that "so far we have set certain goals, but their implementation will be more complicated. In principle, we want the scientific-research base to have an interest in the application of its results directly in production. We want the number of research-production associations to expand and, thereby, cut short the path from research and development directly to production. We want the 5-year plans of economic production units and enterprises to express, in a binding form, the contribution of the scientific-research base to raising performance, profits, productivity and so forth. But it is necessary to frankly admit that we are not yet quite clear about all the questions."

In his following reply, Minister Ler speaks on the results of the economic experiment going on in selected economic production units. He says: "We assess the experiment every 6 months. The basic principles, the elements of the creation of the plan and the entire economic mechanism have, in principle, proved their worth. They yield positive results and for that reason they have become part of the 'Set of Measures." However, at the same time we must realize that the result of the experiment cannot be reflected in the economy immediately, within a very short period of time. Nevertheless, we can underscore that the interdependence between wage policy and performance proper has been reflected very positively in the experiment; the enterprises' conduct has been sensible, they observed in principle the 3-year tasks concerning the proportion between labor productivity measured in terms of performance proper and the development of wages, they created for themselves certain wage reserves, and oriented their entire wage policy toward remunerating those factors and elements that deserved the greatest credit for results achieved. [paragraph continues]

Furthermore, the attention paid to technical development has markedly increased, economic production units concentrated their resources on technical development that benefits the entire economic production unit, and the fragmentation of the enterprises' tasks was being eliminated. On the other hand, we cannot be satisfied with the fact that there has not been a more marked endeavor to reduce the demands of the production sector for investments, and that the changes have not yet been fully reflected in the sphere of exports. There are long-term factors and the 'Set of Measures' takes them into account. It has transpired that we must enhance the economic production units' concentration on technical, trade and investment policy. The task of enterprises and plants is, in the first place, to produce required quality at the required costs, but the investment, trade and technical policy must be made from the position of a higher level of management, to prevent a fragmentation of resources. On the whole I can say that it was correct to carry out the experiment. The 'Set of Measures' is not a document that has been fixed once and for all, but a living one which we will enrich by the findings and experience from the work collectives' practice so that management can be smoothly adapted and help solve the tasks that will be set by the 16th congress, and which we will face in the eighties."

Responding to M. Vasakova's question of why no "nationwide" discussion has been carried out "on a document of such importance" as the "Set of Measures," Ler notes that the economic experiment, in which 500,000 people are taking part, has been "in a certain way" a discussion. Besides, as Ler argues, "the 'Set of Measures' is an appeal calling for creative thinking, and every plant and collective has the opportunity to express its views on it in applying it, in solving its own problems." He also views the aktivs devoted to the "Set of Measures" that took place in party, trade union, youth and other national front organizations as a "great intraparty and all-social discussion."

Returning in the concluding question to the market situation, worker Petakova sees one of the reasons for some shortages in the fact that "some enterprises produce that which they find profitable, on which they make more money and which is advantageous for them." Petakova asks how it is possible that "in a planned economy, some enterprises are doing as they please."

Ler explains that not everything can be planned from the center: "Individual products and ranges of products constitute millions of items, and that cannot be planned by anyone from the center. We would like to gradually arrive at an evaluation of the activity of enterprises according to how they are fulfilling economic contracts which express the consumers' needs. The economic contracts should include all the details. It goes without saying that there will always be the problem of diverse profitability--but when an enterprise commits itself to deliver to its customer a certain number of products of a certain quality, it should honor that commitment. In the Soviet Union there are, for example, very rigid sanctions penalizing the nonfulfillment of economic contracts. The 'Set of Measures' enjoins the drawing up of such a system in our country as well," Minister Ler says in conclusion.

Summing up the course of the discussion, RUDE PRAVO editors Svatopluk Smutny and Miloslav Vltavsky note that it could not answer all questions, but was "very useful and inspiring" because it showed "how our people are pondering the problems of their workplaces and the whole economy, how upset they are by the present shortcomings and problems, and how they wish to find a path to eliminating, overcoming and rectifying them." That is a "good thing to know," according to the RUDE PRAVO editors, because the "Set of Measures" "cannot be introduced just from above, but must also find a good response from below."

ETHIOPIAN OFFICIAL MEETS WITH HONECKER, DEPARTS

LD290012 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1320 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] Berlin, 28 Nov (ADN)--The GDR and Ethiopia have paid tribute to the great importance of the proposals submitted for peace and disarmament by the Soviet Union in the United Nations. This was stated during a meeting between the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker, and the Ethiopian politician, Lt Col Hadis Tedla, in Berlin on Friday.

Tedla is a member of the Standing Committee of the Provisional Military Administrative Council [PMAC] and of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Workers of Ethiopia [COPWE], and deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and for Central Planning. He handed to Erich Honecker a personal message from Lt Col Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the PMAC and COPWE, chairman of the Council of Ministers and supreme commander of the revolutionary army. Tedla conveyed Mengistu's fraternal greetings, which Erich Honecker reciprocated cordially.

Erich Honecker paid tribute to the achievements of socialist Ethiopia in the struggle for peace, national independence and social progress.

Both politicians exchanged views on topical questions of the international situation. They noted that the international situation has worsened through the policy of confrontation pursued by imperialism, especially the United States. Powerful circles of monopoly capital are stepping up the arms race, stoking international sources of tension and have increased their course toward interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. The conclusion of the agreements on military bases between the United States and Somalia, the expansion of the American military presence in the Indian Ocean, in the region of the Gulf and in the Red Sea has created fresh dangers for the peoples of this region and for peace.

Hadis Tedla conveyed his gratitude for the solidarity and support given by the GDR to the Ethiopian people.

Departure 1 Dec

LD011840 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1618 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 1 Dec (ADN)--Hadis Tedla, member of the Standing Committee of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and of the Executive Committee of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Workers of Ethiopia, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the National Revolutionary Development and Central Planning Campaign on Monday ended a 5-day visit to the GDR. He was bidden a cordial farewell by Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Hadis Tedla attended the fourth meeting of the intergovermental economic committee of the two countries, which discussed the expansion of economic, scientific and technological relations. A trade protocol for 1981 was concluded between the GDR and Ethiopia governments. During his stay Hadis Tedla was received by Erich Honecker, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

FOREIGN MINISTER DEPARTS NIGERIA, ARRIVES IN BENIN

LD011752 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1711 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Cotonou, 8 Dec (ADN)--GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer today arrived on an official visit to the People's Republic of Benin. He and his party were welcomed at the border by Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Simon Ifede Ogouma.

This morning Oskar Fischer ended an official visit to the Federal Republic of Nigeria and was bidden a cordial farewell in Lagos by Minister of External Affairs Ishaya Audu.

In his welcoming speech, the Beninese foreign minister voiced his pleasure that the GDR foreign minister's visit will afford an opportunity to discuss possibilities of deepening bilateral cooperation.

GDR Foreign Minister Fischer told the press in Cotonou that his visit to Benin signifies the continuity of relations between our parties, states and peoples. He stressed that since diplomatic relations were established in 1973, "a truly friendly cooperation, beneficial to both sides, has developed in many fields of political and social life."

He continued: "We believe that a solid foundation has been laid in recent years. On its basis we can now take further steps toward still closer cooperation. We are looking forward to exchanging views with our friends in Benin. Current international issues as well as the development of bilateral relations between the People's Republic of Benin and the GDR will be high on the agenda."

HAGER MEETS WITH DKP CULTURAL DELEGATION

LD011844 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1536 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 1 Dec (ADN)--Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on Monday received a German Communist Party [DKP] delegation under Gerd Deumlich, member of the Presidium and secretary of the DKP Executive. The delegation is visiting the GDR to study the SED's cultural policy. During the friendly meeting Kurt Hager gave an account of the successful implementation of the Ninth SED Congress decisions in the field of culture and the arts.

During its stay in the GDR, the DKP delegation will study the results of SED cultural policy in the Erfurt Bezirk. Herbert Haeber, SED Central Committee member, and Ursula Ragwitz, head of the SED Central Committee's cultural department, were present at the meeting.

AXEN HOLDS TALKS WITH DANISH CP CHAIRMAN

LD012338 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1921 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 1 Dec (ADN)--In a press briefing in Berlin on Monday, Danish Communist Party Chairman Jorgen Jensen said that there is complete agreement between the SED and the Danish Communist Party in their assessment of the international situation and the role of the communist parties in the class struggle against imperialism. The briefing was given at the end of the visit by a Danish Communist Party delegation to the GDR.

Like the GDR citizens, the Danish people desire peace and oppose the arms buildup, he said. That is why it is turning against NATO's aggressive demands for more arms, the raising of military budgets by 3 percent per annum, the extension of nuclear weapons depots and the stationing of American troops in Denmark. It is important to win over as many citizens of the country as possible.

Jensen said that this struggle is proceeding under strong pressure from the most reactionary circles. To counter this pressure means also to support the proposal by Finnish President Kekkonen for a zone free of nuclear arms in northern Europe. Dealing with the effects of West European economic policy, he referred to the broad popular movements against Denmark's membership in the EEC.

In reply to a question, he described the growing FRG revanchism against the GDR as a provocation directed against detente. The further development of peaceful coexistence, he said, requires the full recognition of GDR sovereignty.

On the same day the delegation had a talk with an SED Central Committee delegation under Hermann Axen, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER RETURNS FROM CSSR VISIT

LD292314 Budapest MTI in English 1020 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] Budapest, 28 Nov (MTI)--Lieutenant General Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian deputy defense minister, who paid an official friendship visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic at the head of a military delegation, returned to Hungary on Friday.

HENG SAMRIN, DELEGATION MEET WITH LEADERS, HOLD TALKS

Report of Activities

LD261024 Budapest MTI in English 0600 GMT 26 Nov 80

[Text] Budapest, 25 Nov (MTI)--The delegation of the National Unity Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea and of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, led by President Heng Samrin, arrived in Budapest on Tuesday for an official, friendly visit at the invitation of Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

Heng Samrin is accompanied by Man Hun Sen, foreign minister; Chan Ven, minister of public education; Chea Soth, minister of planning and foreign economy; Men Chhan, minister of agriculture; Thong Khan, deputy minister of foreign and internal trade; Chheng Phon, deputy minister of information, culture and press affairs; Nuth Savoeun, deputy minister of health; and Khuon Ran, ambassador of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to Hungary, who joined the delegation in Budapest.

Hungarian Kampuchean talks opened in the Parliament building in the afternoon. The Hungarian negotiating group is headed by Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar and comprises Frigyes Puja, minister of foreign affairs; Imre Pozsgay, minister of culture; Jeno Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food; Vencel Hazi, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Jozsef Kaplar, deputy minister of foreign trade; Laszlo Medve, deputy minister of health; Gyorgy Fogo, vice-president of the National Planning Office. The Kampuchean delegation to the talks was led by Heng Samrin and its members are Hun Sen, Chan Ven, Chea Soth, Men Chhan, Thong Chan, Chheng Phon, Nuth Savoeun and Khuon Ran.

During the talks marked by a cordial, friendly atmosphere, topical international affairs were reviewed and information exchanged on the situation in the two countries and the hitherto experience of country-building work. There were discussions about the development of economic and cultural relations between the two countries. A full identity of views characterized the official Hungarian-Kampuchean negotiations.

In the afternoon, Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, received in the Parliament building President Heng Samrin and the members of the delegation of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council. They conducted talks about timely international questions including the political situation in South-East Asia and its impact on universal peace. Also present at the talks was Hungarian foreign minister Frigyes Puja.

The Presidential Council and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic hosted a dinner in honour of Heng Samrin, president of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation and of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council and his delegation in the Parliament building on Tuesday.

Those present at the event included Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the council of ministers, Andras Gyenes, secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, and several other leading personalities of Hungary's political life.

Pal Losonczi delivered a toast speech at the dinner. Heng Samrin answered the Hungarian president's address.

Losonczi Dinner Toast

AU011629 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Nov 80 p 3

[Report on toast by Hungarian Presidential Council Chairman Pal Losonczi at a 25 November Budapest Parliament building festive dinner in honor of the visiting Kampuchean delegation led by Heng Samrin: "Pal Losonczi: Our Talks Are Opening New Prospects in the Friendly Relationship Between Our Countries"]

[Text] The chairman of the Presidential Council emphasized: It is a great pleasure and privilege for us to be able to welcome a delegation of the Kampuchea National United Front For National Salvation [KNUFNS] and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council [KPRC], representatives of the fraternal Kampuchean people, led by Heng Samrin, in our country. He continued:

"The Hungarian People's Republic and the Hungarian people follow with profound sympathy and active solidarity the struggle of the Kampuchean people to achieve their national independence, their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and against the genocidal Pol Pot clique serving the objectives of the Beijing hegemonists.

"Our party, government and entire people gladly saluted 7 January 1979, the highly significant victory of the Kampuchean revolutionary forces and the establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK].

"In the past period of almost 2 years convincingly proves that, under the leadership of the KPRC, the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people, and with the multifaceted assistance and support of the fraternal socialist countries, outstanding successes have been achieved by the Kampuchean people. They manifest themselves in the liquidation of the grave heritage of the past, the reorganization of the shattered society, the restoration of economic and cultural life, and the annihilation of the Pol Pot gangs. As a result of extraordinary efforts, the famine has ended and normal life has resumed in Kampuchea as a whole.

"With its peace-loving and progressive foreign policy, the PRK is winning increasing recognition in the world. Owing to this, over 30 countries have recognized it and established diplomatic relations with it in the brief period that has elapsed. We are certain that, despite the imperialist and Beijing machinations, this process will continue and the PRK will soon be able to occupy its due place in the world, including in the United Nations.

"The Hungarian People's Republic views with appreciation the joint efforts of the PRK, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which are aimed at alleviating tension in Southeast Asia, creating peaceful conditions and developing friendly good-neighborly relations in the area. We agree with and support the Kampuchean proposals concerning alleviation of the tension that has developed on the PRK-Thailand border, and the settlement of refugee and other problems, because, in our opinion, they constitute a good foundation for a negotiated settlement of these disputed issues.

"We are firmly convinced that the Kampuchean people will accomplish the noble objectives defined by the KNUFNS and KPRC program. We sincerely hope that you may attain further great successes in your activity in building and defending the country and continue unabatedly on the path you have begun."

He continued by noting that factors of detente and tension have a simultaneous impact on the world today. "We support the cause of peace, international security, military detente and disarmament. We attach great significance to the collaboration of the forces of socialism and progress. As a Warsaw Pact member, we intend to honorably fulfill our commitments as allies. [paragraph continues]

We struggle for the realization of the proposals laid down in the highly important documents that have been endorsed. We strengthen our alliance with the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community and the forces of the communist and workers movement and the national liberation movements. We attach great significance to the nonaligned movement as an important factor of the struggle for peace, disarmament and detente, and against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racial discrimination. We develop our relations with the advanced capitalist countries on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

"Fraternal friendship and multifaceted cooperation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the PRK, and our peoples, is a fine example for collaboration among forces of progress and socialism. A firm foundation of this is the fact that identical objectives and ideals guide both you and us, and that we struggle in the same front against imperialism and international reaction and for the victory of the cause of socialism. This is the most reliable guarantee for tightening our friendship ever closer and for a further extensive development of our relations.

"I am convinced that your present visit and talks, and basing our relations on agreements, will open new prospects in the development and intensification of our cooperation."

In conclusion, Pal Losonczi raised his glass to the health of President Heng Samrin and the guests present, the successes and prosperity of the Kampuchean people, multi-faceted cooperation between the two countries and fraternal friendship between our peoples.

Heng Samrin Dinner Toast

LD261110 Budapest MTI in English 0620 GMT 26 Nov 80

[Report of speech by Kampuchean President Heng Samrin at 25 November dinner in Budapest attended by Hungarian president Pal Losonczi and other dignitaries]

[Text] Budapest, 25 Nov (MTI)--President Heng Samrin expressed thanks on behalf of the Kampuchean National United Front For National Salvation, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council and the Kampuchean people to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Hungarian Government and the people for the warm welcome accorded to the delegation in Hungary. He went on to say:

In close link with the Vietnamese and Laotian peoples, the Kampuchean people waged a determined struggle against colonialists, imperialists [word indistinct] expansionists through half a century. Finally rallying under the banner of the Kampuchean National United Front For National Salvation, the Kampuchean people (?revolted against) the regime of the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan. Following the Front's victory on January 7, 1979, the People's Republic of Kampuchea was born.

"After the country's total liberation, with the unselfish help of our brethren in Vietnam, Laos and other socialist countries the People's Revolutionary Council succeeded in eliminating the grave legacy of Beijing's puppets. Life is returning to normal.

Continuing his toast speech, Heng Samrin said:

"Encouraged by these successes and by the unselfish help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, we are convinced that we will be able to overcome every [word indistinct] and build up an independent, peaceful, democratic and non-aligned Kampuchea progressing towards socialism.

"Imperialists, colonialists, Chinese expansionists and other hostile forces have now joined hands to carry out their [words indistinct] against the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

At the United Nations General Assembly support has been extended to the ousted, barbarian regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan so that they may continue to occupy the seat of Kampuchea at the UN.

The present situation of Kampuchea is firm and constant. The People's Revolutionary Council is the sole, real and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people. All those attempts are doomed to failure that [word indistinct] restore the bloody regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan.

"We are ready to fight to the last man for defending the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea, for preserving peace and stability in Indochina, in Southeast Asia and all over the world. Every attempt to summon the so-called international Kampuchea conference (?early) next (?year) to the exclusion of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council--deserves to be condemned and forms a gross intervention in the internal affairs of the People's Revolutionary Council. We will treat any resolution adopted by such a conference as illegitimate and invalid," said Heng Samrin in his toast speech.

Conclusion of Visit

LD291951 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] Budapest, 29 Nov (MTI)--The delegation of the National Unity Front For the Salvation of Kampuchea and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, led by President Heng Samrin, left Budapest on Saturday at the end of their official, friendly visit paid at the invitation of Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. Departing with Heng Samrin was his suite including Hun Sen, minister of foreign affairs; Chan Ven, minister of public education; Chea Soth, minister of planning and foreign economy; Men Chhan, minister of agriculture; Thong Chan, deputy minister of external and internal trade; Chheng Phon, deputy minister of information, culture and press; and Nuth Savoeun, deputy minister of health.

At Ferihegy Airport, decorated with Kampuchean, Hungarian and red flags, a gala battalion lined up with team banner for the farewell ceremony. Present were Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers; Rezso Trautmann, vice-president of the Presidential Council; Janos Borbandi, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Frigyes Puja, minister of foreign affairs; Emil Schultheisz, minister of health; Jeno Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food; Janos Berecz, head of department at the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee; Zoltan Szepvolgyi, president of the Metropolitan Council, as well as other leading political figures of Hungary; ambassadors Alfred Almasi of Hungary to Phnom Penh and Khlon Ran of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to Hungary, as well as Soviet Ambassador V.J. Pavlov to Budapest were also there.

The commander of the gala battalion reported to Heng Samrin; then the national anthems of the two countries were played.

Heng Samrin, accompanied by Gyorgy Lazar, inspected the battalion. Heng Samrin and the members of the Kampuchean delegation bid a cordial farewell to the Hungarian public personalities.

Aid, Cooperation Accords

LD272332 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Nov 80

[Excerpt] A Hungarian-Kampuchean financial and economic aid agreement has been signed in Budapest. In addition, cultural-scientific, health cooperation and consular agreements have been concluded.

The official Hungarian-Kampuchean talks have ended with the signing of a joint communique.

MSZMP CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO MEET 2 DECEMBER

LD011842 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, December 1 (MTI)--The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has been summoned to meet on December 2.

The HSWP Political Committee has suggested that the Central Committee session discuss a report on timely international questions as well as a proposal regarding the guidelines for the 1981 national economic plan and state budget.

SANDOR GASPAR BOOK ON TU MOVEMENT REVIEWED

LD281743 Budapest in English to Europe 1200 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Excerpts] "Trade Unions and Government"--(? that is also) the book on the internatioal trade union movement, a selection of articles and speeches by Sandor Gaspar, the general secretary of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions and the president of the WFTU. Peter Ipper has been reading the book; and [words indistinct] his responses to that in this talk on trade unions and government:

Through Sandor Gaspar's writings and speeches the book gives one an extensive review of the main trends in the international trade union movement since the end of World War II.

Sandor Gaspar, who was [words indistinct], discusses in a number of articles in the book the questions most often raised by Western trade union officials when they talk with the representatives of trade unions in the socialist countries. They usually ask whether the unions in the socialist countries have the means [words indistinct] to defend the interests of the workers. Mr Gaspar says this is a properly valid question. [word indistinct] There is no doubt about the fact that the situation, activity and method of work of the unions in the West differs from those in the East.

Mr Gaspar repeatedly emphasizes that in Hungary, as in the other socialist countries, where the working class is the ruling class, the trade unions, (?their power), are the partners of government and not in opposition to the government.

A very interesting point [word indistinct] by Mr Gaspar is that the reason why the Western trade unionists tend to show an increasing interest in the unions' activities in the socialist countries, is that in several West European countries, where the Social Democrats are in office over a longer period, the unions have had to reconsider [word indistinct] to avoid conflict with governments that depend to a great extent on union support. Despite this fact the same West European union leaders are often critical of the cooperation of the unions and the government in the socialist countries. Sandor Gaspar adds that [words indistinct] Hungarian trade unions have the advantage of knowing in advance exactly how much money is at the disposal of the government. That, he says, is one result of cooperation which puts the unions in a powerful negotiating position [words indistinct] does not at all decrease the role of the trade union, writes Mr Gaspar in an article published in 1976.

On an increasing and (?world) range of issues the government, the ministries and the companies can only make decisions in cooperation with the trade unions. There are other issues where the unions must be asked for their opinion and the unions must be informed of decisions in advance even if they concern technology. The right of the trade unions includes the right to veto decisions, that is, to veto any management decision that would harm the interest of the workers. The most general, and of course the final, weapon of the workers in the West, the right to strike, is not ruled out completely in Hungary.

But, Mr Gaspar adds, under the conditions that the workers are the main political power, if the political mechanism works reasonably well, there should really be no need for strike action.

There are of course differences of interest, but, precisely as a result of many-sided contacts and the implementation of the rights of the unions and the workers, these differences can be solved before the position is arrived at that would require strike action.

Mr Gaspar believes that strikes and boycotts would only slow down the development of socialist society, and that would result in delayed fulfillment of the workers' demands. In the activity of the Hungarian trade unions, writes Mr Gaspar in the last article of the book, the main task is not confrontation with the government but rather the realization of the different interests [word indistinct] the conditions in which the workers' demands can be met. The government cannot disregard the [word indistinct] activity of the trade unions, because the unions are the best expression of the views of the working people. At the same time when the trade unions represent and defend the interests of the workers, in cooperation with the government, they also share the responsibility of government.

BRIEFS

NEW MONGOLIAN AMBASSADOR--Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Antal Apro, chairman of the National Assembly, have received for an introductory visit Badamtaryn Baldoo, new ambassador of the Mongolian People's Republic in Hungary. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Nov 80 p 8 AU]

NEW INDIAN AMBASSADOR--Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Antal Apro, chairman of the National Assembly, have received for an introductory visit Vinay Kumar Verma, new ambassador of the Republic of India in Hungary. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Nov 80 p 8 AU]

BUREAU CHAIRMAN IN USSR--Secretary of State Zsolt Bajnok, chairman of the Council of Ministers' information bureau, paid a visit to the Soviet Union from 24 to 26 November. In Moscow, he had talks with Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov, head of the CPSU Central Committee's agitation and propaganda department; Sergey Losev, director general of TASS; and Lev Tolkunov, chairman of APN; about the further development of cooperation between the Hungarian and Soviet press organs and about topical aspects of mass information. He also met and had talks with leading staff members of the publishing state committee of the Soviet Union's Council of Ministers. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Nov 80 p 8 AU]

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION COUNCIL MEETING--The National Environmental Protection Council held a meeting on Wednesday. it established, in a draft resolution, that the treatment, storage and destruction of dangerous wastes constitute an urgent task. These activities require increased caution and particular expertise. Therefore, the establishment of central deposits planned explicitly for this purpose is called for which safely treat all poisonous wastes in their vicinity, and wastes liable to burn and explode, and which can store nonflammable wastes for a long time. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Nov 80 p 9 AU]

MSZMP DELEGATION'S VISITS--The MSZMP Central Committee delegation led by Central Committee member Istvan Huszar that has attended the 13th Congress of the Colombian Communist Party and, subsequently, paid a few days' visit to Quito at the invitation of the Ecuadorean Communist Party returned home on Thursday. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Nov 80 p 8 AU]

CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM OPENS 1 DECEMBER

Kania PZPR Politburo Report

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[PZPR Central Committee Politburo report delivered by Stanislaw Kania, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, at 1 December PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, today's plenum of the Central Committee is devoted above all to party matters, to its main tasks in the present, very difficult and complex political situation in the country. Indeed, the political crisis continues, the destabilization [destabilizacja] of the economy and state is occurring, the future of the nation is being decided. The direction of the social processes occurring in our country and the fate of socialism will depend to a decisive extent on the stance of the party and its ability in action and unity.

The Sixth Central Committee plenum defined the way of overcoming the deep crisis experienced by us at present and it mapped out guidelines for normalizing life and creating the basis for further development. The party and the society approved the resolutions of the sixth plenum and have linked their hopes and aspirations with it.

Whether events of the last 2 months have fulfilled these hopes--the answer to this question is not unequivocal [jednosnaczny]. All of us, from top to bottom, have done a great deal to implement the sixth plenum resolutions. Our main efforts have been focused on implementing the obligations made by us on the authority of the fifth Central Committee plenum together with representatives of the workforces. The Government undertook decisions on increasing wages for all working people. The overwhelming majority of these decisions were discussed and made in accord with representatives of trade unions. The implementation of wage increases, including minimum wages, was accelerated and it was also decided to increase family allocations.

Efforts have been made to prevent the market situation from worsening. To this end changes are being made in the structure of domestic production we have resorted to obtaining and additional imports and foreign credits. Here of special importance is the Soviet Union's economic aid within the framework of which we are getting additional supplies of raw and other materials, fuels, food and credits in convertible currencies with total value of $1.3 billion.

We highly appreciate the aid given us by other fraternal socialist countries. This includes especially the GDR. We are also engaged in economic talks and have obtained several advantageous agreements with some capitalist countries.

We have extended the scope and conditions of financial aid for young married couples. We have prepared and sent to discussion the principles of introducing a 5-day work week. Work is progressing rapidly on economic reform. The so-called minor reform is all ready; this is a program for systematic changes which require immediate introduction.

To cope with the consequences of high increases in the wages fund, changes have been made in the division of national income. This will be reflected very clearly in the plan for next year and for the next 5-year period. The changes consist of cuts in our investment program, above all in investments for large projects, capital-intensive projects which take a long time to complete.

Guidelines for the agricultural policy have been prepared by the PZPR Central Committee and ZSL Supreme Committee. These define the means for activating our rural production efforts and increasing farming output. We have mobilized new incentives for developing farm and food production. We have prepared proposals for meat rationing and several measures have been taken to secure better supplies for the market of basic foods needed by the lower and medium-paid consumers.

This has been done at the cost of increasing exports of more expensive goods, such as cars and color television sets.

Vital transformations continue to take place in public and political life. A thorough reconstruction of the trade union movement has taken place. All industrial trade unions have held congresses and new working methods are taking shape in their work. New trade unions are also being formed. The Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity has developed extensively. Thanks to the completion of the registration process Solidarity has been given the full rights of a legal entity.

The ways our Sejm works have also changed and its role is increasing in measure with its constitutional powers.

Essential changes are taking place in the functioning of regional representative organs. The cooperation between our party and the ZSL has been enriched, and also with the Democratic Party. We favor strengthening the position of nonparty people. The joint commission of the government and the Episcopate has been established and has begun to operate.

In the party the process of restoring Leninist norms continues. Discussions are being dominated by authenticity and sincerity. Additionally, many leading workers and farmers have been called on to become party authorities. Our party is successfully restoring respect for the principles of social justice and high moral norms in public life and we also have been consistently solving many difficult problems of the working people.

Over a period of 2 months considerable cadre changes have been made. Over 500 persons have departed from leading functions, in the majority of cases due to an inability to match new conditions and demands.

In a relatively few cases, where ethical and moral liabilities must be taken into account, these cases have been directed to the party control commission or to organs for administering justice.

At the same time honor has been restored to many activists. They have been cleared of insinuations and untrue accusations. According to the recommendation of the sixth plenum, we are departing from the practice of linking the functions of the first secretaries of party committees with the functions of chairmen of people's councils.

Socialist youth unions are undergoing difficult tests. They are learning to operate successfully within the framework of youth self-management and activity, in difficult political and ideological struggle.

Work has been undertaken and advanced on new regulations, particularly on bills concerning trade unions, workers' self-management, higher schools, and press control. The party leadership has successfully ensured favorable international conditions for the solution of difficult internal problems. In this respect we have maintained constant links with our friends and allies, first of all with the leadership of the CPSU.

We paid a visit to Moscow and had talks with Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, Nikolay Tikhonov and other Soviet leaders.

We understand well the internationalist concern and anxiety awakened in fraternal parties by the situation in Poland. After all we constitute an extremely important segment of the socialist community. We are grateful, particularly to the Soviet comrades, for the trust in our party, for understanding the nature of our difficulties, and for the conviction that we will find a way out of the crisis that will be successful for socialism in Poland and for the entire community.

Our relations with the capitalist countries have been also developing successfully. In particular, our relations are developing successfully with those capitalist countries with which we are linked by traditional and extensive cooperation.

In general one can say that the anxiety with which the world is watching Polish difficulties is accompanied by the desire, in accordance with the interests of peace and detente, for these difficulties to be resolved in a constructive manner, in the spirit of the line of our party's sixth Central Committee plenum.

Comrades, even this incomplete review of matters which have either been dealt with or undertaken during the past 2 months proves the unshaken desire of our party to implement the resolutions of the sixth plenum, to realize the task of socialist renewal. We know, however, that the expectations of the party and the community are much larger. At the same time I stress openly that the process of socialist renewal is meeting considerable obstacles on its path. Some of these are conservative resistance and a misunderstanding of the nature of the changes taking place in our country. We will resolutely overcome such resistance. The line of socialist renewal, rebuilding the confidence of the working class and the line of agreement with the community is unshakable. This is incumbent in the vital interests of socialism and constitutes an expression of our national and internationalist responsibility. There is no return from the line of renewal.

That is why this line must be protected from all threats to the material conditions for its implementation or threats to its democratic character and its socialist content.

We are faced with the accumulation and threatening growth of enormous difficulties. The political situation in our country remains immensely complicated and full of various types of dangers. There still exist strong tensions, much nervousness and excitability, and feverish discussions are continuing. The mood of the community is far from being stable.

We are living through a year of exceptionally bad weather conditions and almost exceptionally bad crops. There are serious difficulties in the power industry; implementation of investment projects is disorganized; there are great delays in housing construction. There is still a long way to go towards implementing planned export tasks. Probably worst of all are the matters of deliveries to the domestic market. The market is chaotic and deliveries are highly insufficient and occur in fits and starts. In some areas basic food products are not sold at times. Such is the truth known to millions of citizens and encountered daily. In such a situation it is a fundamental priority to avoid anything that can intensify difficulties and which disturb their alleviation. Unfortunately many work enterprises, or even full branches of production of great importance to the national economy, have failed to reach the normal rhythm of work.

This state of affairs has a number of reasons. Some of them are independent of the workforces. In this sense they have an objective character. One could list here supply difficulties, energy difficulties and a number of others. However, no less essential factors for the failure to fully exploit production potentials rests in the strikes which are still occurring, social tensions and above all in the decline in discipline and the anarchy [rozprezezenia] apparent in some work establishments.

Broad circles of the community are hoping that the registration of the new trade unions will bring about a decline in tension. In some areas and localities and in many factories this has begun to find confirmation and continues to find it. We have defined on many occasion our positive attitude towards Solidarity. Representatives of the party and government leadership, including myself, have met with its leading activists.

On the basis of these meetings and talks I consider that realistic possibilities for settling mutual relations to the benefit of the country exist. Of course we realize that this process can be neither easy nor devoid of collisions; that both the authorities and the union lack experience in this sphere; that here and there mutual mistrust might have surfaced, or even mistakes; that the new union movement, which was organized very rapidly, is characterized by impatience and it possesses an emotional nature.

We did have and still have hope that the atmosphere of negotiations and agreements will make it possible to work out rational methods of cooperation. That is why we have been accepting very calmly many actions, statements and even public declarations which have not aided mutual confidence. Nobody can accuse us of lacking patience, readiness to compromise and even concessions designed to prevent extreme situations, which are dangerous for the security and internal calm of the country.

Unfortunately, the platform of agreement is still being darkened by new, unfavorable phenomena. In particular in a number of regional and branch echelons of Solidarity a strike atmosphere and great rashness in employing the threat of strikes are being maintained. One can understand motives which give birth to a strike atmosphere among workers in support of pay and social demands. Many workers still have a very difficult life. There are disproportions in the wage system that have accumulated over the years. These problems call for a settlement and they will have to be dealt with. However, the problem remains that the current economic situation makes it impossible to satsfy immediately all, even justified, demands.

We have warned, and we continue to warn, that in the field of increasing the wage fund all rational limits were exceeded a long time ago and a further disproportion between wages and market supplies goes against the direct interests of the working people. Therefore, if the right to strike is to have any sense at all, one must at present defend above all the right to peaceful work. This truth must be resolutely and consistently explained by us.

On the other hand, the strikes of a prestigious or simply political character cannot be excused in any way. Also, attempts at forcing, by threat of strikes and even by occupation of work places and official buildings, changes in voivodship and state authorities or management of certain work places cause great concern. A number of these actions are being carried out in an atmosphere of ultimatums, which characterize these demands, inadmissible pressure and an arrogant attitude to the authorities and work colleagues. The tendency to impose one's views on others and even to cause unrest is being fomented also in the streets or in certain public utility buildings in the form of various leaflets, written slogans, various instances of violating regulations, or other instances of lawlessness. All this shows that certain people and organizations of Solidarity trespass the limits of trade union activity as defined in its statutes. Bearing in mind the recent and very resolute stance of this union concerning inviolability of the text of its registered statutes, such actions must appear even more puzzling. Indeed, this constitutes a violation of law, usurpation of attributes which belong exclusively to the state. As we know, in no state are there two ruling powers and there cannot be in our state either.

We know, and we are confident, that the overwhelming majority of activists, members and sympathizers of Solidarity have nothing in common with this dangerous trend and we count on them not to follow it. The crux of the problem lies in the fact that some of the links of this workers movement, this movement of working people, were penetrated and are negatively inspired by groups and persons connected with centers of imperialist subversion whose aims are hostile to socialism and people's power. They represent various lines and shades. An acute class struggle is in progress. Temporarily, the enemies of socialism pretend to factually represent the aspirations of the working class since this is expedient for them as a stepping-stone for future moves. But the path of the working class diverges from theirs since these forces want destabilization and a consequent impairment and overthrowing of the socialist state in Poland. This is a design, in its substance an antiworker and counterrevolutionary design. We do not say this without reason: This is shown by numerous statements and publications of our enemies. But this is not the principal argument. The main thing is what they are doing today, how they try to utilize the feelings and impetuous reflexes of certain social groups thus prolonging the crisis which is ruining our country.

At present, the attitude to the problem of overcoming the crisis and achieving stabilization is the main criterion of the sense of responsibility for peace and security of Poland.

And that peace, which is one of the fundamental conditions for a successful process of renewal, continues to be seriously threatened.

Let us repeat yet again our basic stand: In conformity with the expectations and strivings of a great majority of party activists and members, the Central Committee chose during the July-August crisis the line of agreement and renewal. This was a decision with far-reaching consequences for the system. It meant a profound transformation as regards the range and methods of exercising the leading role of the party. It meant that social organizations were entrusted with independent and self-governing status over a wide range of spheres of public life, and in particular the trade union movement, the youth movement, and cultural and scientific activities.

We have taken a course toward the development of socialist democracy and at the same time toward the widening of the political base of the people's power, toward partnership with the ZSL and the SD, on an appreciable stepping-up of the participation of non-party people in the discharge of power. These are very essential changes. It would be naive to think that they have been enforced on the party. Without deliberate support for these changes in the Politburo, in the Central Committee, in the broad circles of party activists they would not have been possible.

We have chosen such a path not because of illusions that we would thus avert a mass wave of strikes and later everything would return to the old ways. We have been guided by a striving to gain for socialism in our country a stronger social base, and to create more up-to-date, effective mechanisms for its functioning. We are aware that the profound turning-point carried out in conditions of tension and conflicts could also give rise to attacks on socialism and the party.

However, we counted on the strength of prudence in our society, on its maturity in the understanding of the interest of the country. We have declared and embarked on cooperation with each and every person who was ready to join in such cooperation, irrespective of any differences which divided or could divide us. In the great majority of instances we have come across a readiness for honest cooperation, including on the part of the Catholic Church.

For the sake of the line of agreement and renewal we must resist with all firmness the forces which due to their short-sightedness or schemings make it difficult to overcome the crisis, and which favor an anarchization of social life. It must be borne in mind that phenomena of anarchy can be easily aroused but are very difficult to bridle. It is high time to sober up, to realize that the fundamental condition and opportunity for the successful, future national destiny is the immediate discontinuation of activities underming and weakening the functioning of the people's state and, what is more, threatening in consequence a destabilization of peaceful order in Europe.

We are acting with great patience and prudence but no one should count on vacillation and penitency on the part of our party and the people's power in the defense of the socialist cause. The devense of socialism is the defense of the supreme national values, a defense of Poland's raison d'etat.

Comrades! Despite the extremely difficult situation there still are conditions for overcoming the current crisis.

First of all, the overwhelming majority of our nation is vitally interested in it, wants democratic changes but wants also to avoid slakening of order, anarchy and unrest, all which would carry the threat of a national catastrophe. The key to resolve this is the restoration of the offensive quality and ideological values of the party in the implementation of a socialist renewal in a struggle against the threats to socialism.

Unfortunately, however, the situation at this point is also unfavorable. There is a considerable enlivenment occuring in the party organizations, but nevertheless the party as a whole has not yet adjusted to the new situation.

In the attitudes of many comrades, and sometimes in entire party organizations, emotions prevail over reason and a bitter assessment of the past prevails over mapping out constructive conclusions and defining tasks for the future. Nor must the party be a debating club or a loose association of sympathizers. It is strong by virtue of both the authentic character of its internal democracy and its discipline; both with discussion and honogenous work, by utilizing their rights and by fulfilling their duties by all its members. Democratic centralism has been and will remain the fundamental principle of the party's internal life and at the same time, an important source of the party's strength, its unity and cohesion.

Without unity stemming from conviction, without a conscious discipline, without an efficient executive, the Marxist-Leninist party cannot fulfill its functions well. This is an indispensible condition for developing real democracy in the party. Unity of action, freedom of discussion and criticism--this is our definition, as Lenin wrote. Only this kind of discipline is worthy of a democratic party of the leading class.

Democracy within the party is the key to democracy in society, in all links of socio-political life. From this results the essential duty of the party in the process of renewal: to create models of socialist democracy. Therefore it is understandable that the thinking of party organizations should turn precisely toward development of the party's internal democracy; that the proposals of changes in internal party relations and its statutes pouring in to the Central Committee from all over the country concern this above all.

While expressing our esteem for the many initiatives which correspond to the urgent needs of our party practice and voice our support for the discussion being carried out on this subject in the Central Committee, we would like deal with some of these proposals in a positive manner. They include a proposal to define the most important matters reserved exclusively for the congress to decide upon, as well as those within the competence of the report-back conferences and meetings as well as the plenary sessions of the Central Committee and party committees of various levels. This proposal results from the willingness to counteract any recurrence of practices whereby many matters decided by the resolutions of the congresses and plenary sessions of the Central Committee were later resolved differently by decisions taken by a restricted team. Many resolutions concern the concentration of decisionmaking in the hands of elected party bodies increasing the role of their members in the broad aktiv, defining the correct relation between the aktiv and basic organizations and the apparatus of party functionaries.

In this context it is worth paying attention to the proposals concerning the notification in the statute binding all party branches to set up permanent commissions.

Today, we propose to set up the commission within the framework of the Central Committee.

Many proposals concern the clear definition of principles for the performance of eligible party functions, the number of terms during which the functions can be performed. This is an important and very complicated matter. We should examine it during precongress discussion so that we can adopt considered decisions at the congress.

Resolutions of many party branches and organizations demand alterations in the rules for the election of authorities and delegates of our party. We submit a draft containing the proposals for examination by today's plenum.

One essential change in the statute which will be examined by the party during precongress discussion concerns combining the party Audit Commission and the party Control Commission into the Control and Audit Commission, which will be elected by congresses and conferences. Their duty will be to prepare separate reports at the congress and voivoidship conferences.

In agreement with many organizations, we also propose that where half the membership wishes, the election of first secretaries, executives and secretariats be made by secret ballot.

Many organizations are convinced that the requirement for democracy in the party lies in a democratic manner of work by the Central Committee, the Politburo and the Secretariat a truly collective administration and close bonds with the broad aktiv. We share the opinion concerning the introduction of broad masses of comrades into the process of preparing decisions and we are endeavoring to draw practical conclusions from it.

In the preceding weeks in many centers in the country initiatives have appeared for direct cooperation and for exchange of views on many subjects between party committees in industrial enterprises, schools and institutions. This is a new manifestation of party activity. It expresses a desire to make one's own contribution to the party program and policy. Voivodship and rural branches should meet these initiatives half-way and take an active part in them, and should try not to omit anything from the valuable capital of discussion.

At the same time we must resolutely oppose the creation of nonstatutory organizational structures. Everyone who has entered this path must be made to retreat. Factions and dissenting activities must not be tolerated in our party. Only by the combined efforts of the Central Committee, local branches and primary organizations can we have progress in the formation and implementation of a new party policy.

The situation which has arisen under the effect of the crisis we are undergoing presents us today with the issue of what party life really is. This issue includes a broadly understood democracy and above all the right and duty to criticize, to make suggestions and proposals, to voice and defend one's view. On the other hand in our party we must observe the principles according to which we set our program, the political line and resolutions adopted on fundamental matters, principles which are binding on all party members.

Whether or not the party will perform its leading role will depend on ideological unanimity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This is why, while adopting a course for ideological renewal of party's internal life, renewal which should be aimed at supporting the transformations which are taking place in the country, we shall act resolutely against all symptoms of ideological capitulation, violations of ideological unity and actions against the party's ability to act.

We should, with equal resolve, combat in our ranks the tendency toward conservative thinking and a failure to understand our new conditions and needs.

Today we must, with full resolve, oppose the proclamation of slogans which have nothing in common with socialism, which undermine the unity and ideological ability of the party to act. We must demand today more than ever before that all party organizations and every party member adopt an active stand in relation to matters and views which are of concern to working people.

The Central Committee and voivodship party branches have a duty to render help to party organizations in their ideological work, in arming them ideologically for the campaign for the cause of the party and socialism. There is not enough of this help, and its quality and topicality continue to leave much to be desired.

We will correct this matter. At the same time party organizations should take more of the burden on their own shoulders. This is an important condition for improving the standard of ideological work, for overcoming the stagnation which we have had in this area for many years.

Comrades! Our party created a program defining the guidelines for the development of People's Poland. Everything which constitutes the achievements of our country, everything we possess today was created by our nation's struggle and toil, the struggle and toil of the nation led by our party. The part played by the Polish People's Army in the Berlin victory assured the historical satisfaction and political effectiveness of the armed effort of all Polish soldiers and all resistance movement fighters.

We restored to our motherland and united with it the western territories. We developed the economy, we industrialized and urbanized our country. We made revolutionary progress in education and culture; we improved material living conditions by securing full employment for successive generations entering mature life.

This is an undeniable, epoch-making achievement of our people. But the political direction of that effort, its program, was defined by our party. Poland's development took place in accordance with PZPR policy with a great contribution from the party aktiv and member masses. No party member has any reason to either repudiate or be ashamed of this achievement. It constitutes a reason for our being proud. These are undeniable truths. We are recalling them in the period when the party is focusing its attention on putting right the mistakes of its policies. It is our firm determination to overcome these mistakes.

But we must not allow the just criticism of mistakes to be transformed into the negation and rejection of our genuine achievements in the past, achievements of our party and the entire people. This could lead to a negation of socialism; it could pave the way for attempts to shape different systemic principles for Poland and its place in the world. It would be a suicidal path. Our party's leading role is the fundamental principle of our motherland's socialist system, independence, security and peaceful development.

Comrades! At party meetings and in broad public circles the issue of responsibility for political errors and for concrete decisions which caused the present difficult situation, is being raised with emphasis.

The Sixth Central Committee Plenum decided the matter by indicating that the responsibility is placed with the central links of the party and state authority. Hence, organizational decisions have been made concerning a number of members of the party and state leadership in the seventies. We realize that further clarification is indispensable, and proposals concerning the matter are necessary. Such proposals are contained in the draft bill prepared for today's plenary meeting by the proposals commission.

When judging the problems of responsibility we must distinguish between political responsibility we must distinguish between political responsibility connected with making faulty decisions, violation of the principles of intraparty life, and legal responsibility. The consequences of political responsibility can only be political; in the most serious cases it should lead to expulsion from the party and deprivation of all public functions. Legal responsibility is a separate and different matter. In our country, just as in every civilized state, it is only concerned with violation of the law. Legal responsibility should, and must, apply to those against whom violation of law can be proved. It particularly applies to all cases of corruption, illegally gained material benefits, and the abuse of positions of authority to this end.

The commissions of party control, and also the appropriate state organs, are conducting proper investigations in all matters where there are groups for it. Public opinion has been informed about the first results of investigation by the Central Commission of Party Control, and also by the president of the Supreme Chamber of Control during the last Sejm debate.

We cannot afford to be lenient in matters of this kind. Honesty must constitute an elementary demand in relation to party, state and economic activists at all levels. Those who created the climate of moral tolerance, and those who made use of it, must bear full and just consequences.

In this respect, the Central Committee should take a clear and decisive stand toward widely appearing trends for the anarchist treatment of the question of responsibility, to attaching it to the whole leading cadre, to the broad masses of party and state activists, and to the party apparatus. In conditions of serious distortions of intraparty democracy, the influence of members and party branches on decisions was varied, and the opposition to harmful trends can only have limited character.

But even in such conditions the decisive majority of party activists and party workers tried to fulfill their tasks in good faith and with a sense of duty, to contribute toward the development of the country, to implement the correct content of party policy, and at the same time to reduce the scale and result of errors.

Over the past weeks we have made many cadre changes--on various levels, in the central offices, and in the provinces, in party ranks and in state authorities. In many cases the changes were initiated by the mechanism of intraparty democracy and social democracy which, in practice, restores the role of the principle of eligibility.

One of our important tasks is to create the right kind of climate in relation to personnel changes, a climate of resistance against accusations and witch hunts. We should, by the effort of the whole party, create an atmosphere in which to leave a leading party or state appointment becomes something quite normal, just as transfers from higher to lower posts, or from a political job to a professional one. This is one of the most important conditions for the development of the right kind of staff policy.

At present, in many primary organizations, comrades are calling for elections. Party branches can agree to them. In some organizations the present authorities have been asking comrades for votes of confidence and have made the decision to call an election report-back meeting dependent on that vote. We are in favor of this practice. But to hold elections at this time--general elections throughout the party--appears to be inappropriate. Many organizations simply need time to find their way in the new situation, to regain their balance wihtout which an election report-back meeting could not properly perform its role. The situation varies considerably and decisions on this very important issue should be made in accordance with it.

As far as the voices which call for holding within the party a campaign of verification of membership is concerned, our view continues to be that at present this would serve no purpose; we must take care that the party loses no honest comrade, but at the same time we should regard it as quite normal that those who do not feel they can face the demands made by the party and its statute, should leave its ranks. In the consolidation of its ranks and in the future, our party's motto must be quality and high standards.

The fact that in our present, difficult, political conditions a considerable number of workers, peasants and intelligentsia are joining our party, is of optimistic eloquence. They are joining on the basis of a conscious, ideological decision and not one of an enlistment campaign, as was formerly the case.

Comrades! Our party, all its organizations and branches, should lead the process of socialist renewal. The need for it has been ripening within our party for a long time now. It was liberated and speeded up by the workers' protest which the Central Committee decisions went a long way to meet. The party is the guarantor of the success of socialist renewal. It should become the source of initiative in its shaping and implementation. It should, with all its force, support the strivings of the working class and the community designed to restore to socialism all its values.

In the debate which is taking place today throughout the party, pride of place is occupied by the problem of social conflicts, their causes and the ways to overcome them. This is closely linked with the postulate for the creation of guarantees, mechanisms against the accumulation of social discontent, against the recurrence of crisis. Our party must have an answer to the questions put today and provide a guarantee of preventing crises in future. This is of fundamental importance for today and for the future, for the party, for the construction of socialism in our country.

We speak here about great social conflicts. But every day, life brings all kinds of divergencies and even tensions against the background of relations between the leading cadres and the employees, against the background of the violation of the principles of a just division of social funds and benefits, against the background of an assessment of men.

An important obligation of party organizations is to react immediately to the first signs of emerging discontent, without waiting for the conflict to swell, because then--and this has been proved by practice in the past few months--emotions get the better of reason and dialogue becomes extremely difficult.

It is important that, in situations of conflict, party organizations should always adopt a deeply principled stand, being guided by the precepts of social justice and moral criteria of socialism. It must become universal practice that every link in our party is representative of the workers' interests, of the social interest. A correctly conceived assistance on the part of the party to the administration also means the timely correcting of mistakes and rashly made decisions.

The new trade union bill should introduce into practice once and for all the regulation of labor relations, envisaging defined legal precepts with the assistance of which we will solve conflicts. Thus a mechanism will be created to relieve tension in a way which conforms with the law's precepts. In light of these deliberations, it is necessary to refer to the events of December 1970. The 10th anniversary of those events is drawing near and our party, together with the whole nation, will return with collected thoughts to this national tragedy.

The eighth plenum of the Central Committee at the beginning of 1971 and the sixth congress have made an honest and sincere appraisal of these events. We fully support this appraisal. Memory of these events should not and cannot divide. On the contrary, it should unite the nation, the working class, the people's power, in a joint action so that such a tragedy should never happen again.

We believe the historic experiences of our nation, its moral culture, will not allow the memory of that tragedy to serve as a short-sighted desire to inflame and to take revenge, but will turn it into a source of lessons for the future. Our party has drawn conclusions from the experiences of December 1970. The fact that we apply them in practice is testified by the party's approach to resolving the sharp conflict last summer. The main conclusion consists of solutions by political means, of our unflinching will to implement the August accords and for the party to embark on the process of renewing social life so all citizens can enjoy equal rights, so that they will discharge their duties in the feeling of peace and security.

Comrades! The striving for peace and for the normalization of life is on the increase in ever wider circles in our society. People realize even better the seriousness of the situation in which our country finds itself. The realization that the socialist fabric of social life which constitutes the opportunity and hope of our nation can be realized only in conditions of a stabilized economy, political and social life, is also paving its way on an ever wider scale.

We could and should, on a national scale and in every region, in every factory and institution, build a broad alliance of the forces of prudence and responsibility, an alliance of work and struggle, work on the consistent implementation of socialist democratization and struggle against anarchy. This alliance is open to all. It is open to all who are prepared to cooperate in implementing socialist renewal in conditions of normalization and stabilization. In the first place, we address the allied political parties, the ZSL and the SD. Profound changes are taking place in our relations leading to a deepening of the partnership.

We believe all important issues of our common policy should be thoroughly discussed between the party and the other political parties in order to work out a common stand. This stand will be jointly defended, jointly promoted and jointly implemented. It is necessary to implement with greater activeness and consistency the guidelines of the sixth plenum concerning widening the participation of nonparty people in public life, in coresponsibility for the exercise of power. At all levels, starting with the Sejm and the government, important measures have been adopted in that direction. They must be continued. In particular it is necessary in the next 6 months to carry out, on the initiative of the party, a review and appraisal of the leading cadres in the administration and the economy. As a result of this review it will be inevitable to make changes in all the instances where the present leaders cannot cope properly with their tasks.

In the course of the changes our party's echelons and organizations should see to an appreciable increase in the part played by nonparty people in the work of the leadership. The nonparty patriots, who stand on the foundations of socialism, constitute a considerable majority in the community and include specialists in various fields. We should attempt to use in the best way possible the entire potential of the talent and skills of our nation in the work of the leadership.

Unjustified limitations in the above field seriously narrowed the capability to use our labor potential and created frustrations and tensions. I am convinced that our appeal for an alliance of the forces of reason and responsibility in the work of socialist renewal will be met with a widespread response by creative circles of scientists, creators of culture and teachers. Drawing conclusions from the crisis, the party initiated the widespread development of self-government in institutions of higher education, in scientific life and in cultural activities. We have undertaken at all levels--in the center and locally--cooperation with representatives of the above-mentioned professional groups in implementing practical changes and preparations for laws governing such changes. We attach great hope to the developing role of the trade union movement, both the industrial trade unions as well as the new ones, most of all Solidarity.

Our attitude toward the trade union movement is clear: We support the reconstruction of the industrial trade unions. We see a significant role for them in economic and social life. We wish to cooperate broadly and solidly with Solidarity. We respect and value its trade union independence and self-governing character. We will overcome resistance or hesitation in working with Solidarity in our own ranks. We are in favor of all trade unions cooperating. The only condition for such cooperation is the common interest of the working people and the good of the country. Many members of our party belong to Solidarity. We expect from these comrades active participation on the foundations of the trade union statute and defining one's stance on all matters concerning preservation of the socialist character of the union.

We encourage party members acting in various trade unions to shape the conduct of cooperation and mutual confidence, bearing in mind the interests of the working class and all the working people. Party organizations at work enterprises should oversee the implementation of agreements between enterprises and the administration, after creating institutionalized platforms of cooperation and observing principles of democracy, which make it possible to have a free say for all those who put forward constructive proposals and aim at normalization [normalizacja]. It is for the sake of the consistent implementation of the agreements, for realization of the democratically adopted decisions that efficient and highly respected economic and state administration is essential. We will oversee the correct selection of its membership, oversee the correct, competent and humanistic methods of its activity. But, it is also essential for everyone to respect the legally established principles of professional and service subordination, production discipline and civic discipline.

Comrades, we must say today that the system of our work has not been very effective. We are drawing far-reaching conclusions from this. The socialist youth unions play an important role in the life of the young generation--the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, Socialist Union of Polish Students and the Polish Scout Union. The party considers these unions to be an important link in the ideological training of young people and considers them to be the allies and partners of the party. The youth movement should engage young people more effectively in the changes which are taking place, develop its ideological life, fight for the social and professional advancement of the young people and look after their interests. In our work with young people there was too much authoritative talk [mentorstwo] and too little authentic exchange of views which would answer the problems of the young people. We are drawing conclusions for the future from this: We will be guided by the Leninist concept of ideological leadership and organizational independence.

Esteemed comrades, when we found the way out of the most serious phase of the strike conflict at the first session of the party sixth Central Committee plenum on 5 September, we immediately put forward a proposal to convene the ninth extraordinary party congress.

This proposal was developed later at the second session of the sixth plenum and found great support in the party ranks, thus justifying its correctness. We share the opinions contained in the resolutions of decisions by party organizations suggesting the quick convening of the congress.

We understand the motives and the intentions behind such proposals. They result from a deep concern for the future of the country and for making the process of renewal permanent and the party stronger. The congress is the highest forum at which strategic decisions are made concerning the process of socialist construction. The ninth congress should carry out an in-depth examination of the situation, define the tasks faced by the party, and declare its attitude toward the experience and character of the renewal which is now taking place. All this should serve the case of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, strengthening the unity of the nation and creating a platform for joint action by the patriotic forces toward ensuring the successful development of the country.

The nature of the program of socialist renewal, whose implementation has been started by us but which in the coming weeks must be made even more precise, is in the universal development of socialist democracy. This kind of a debate should precede the election of delegates to the congress. The elections, if they are to provide political representation for the process of political renewal, must be held on the foundations of clearly defined political attitudes, and not just on the basis of an exchange of the old activists for the new. Taking into consideration all these conditions and requirements of the statute, the Politburo proposes to convene the ninth congress in a relatively short time, which will mobilize but at the same time ensure the solid and correct preparation of the (?initial precepts).

We propose to hold the ninth congress on the threshold of the first and second quarter of 1981. The exact date will be set by the Central Committee at a plenary session in January 1981.

At today's plenum we propose to form a congress commission which will represent the basic social and professional groups of the working people. The task of the commission will be to work out, by January 1981, a draft of the documents of the ninth congress, most of all of the program theses and changes in the party statute. The congress commission should organize its work in such a way that it is able to take advantage of the rich achievements of the discussion currently in progress in our party in our country.

With the participation of the Problem Committee [Komitet Problemowy] of the Central Committee, it should make use of all those proposals coming in from the basic party organizations from all social and vocational settings, from party members and citizens of our country. In its activity the congress commission, guided by democratic precepts, will seek the point of view of broad social circles and advisory teams. It will initiate debates on various subjects, organize the necessary experts' reports, and widely inform the party and public opinion about progress made in its activity.

Today we address the party, the allied political parties, trade unions, the youth movement, social and self-government organizations, all Polish men and women, asking them to participate actively in forming the party program, to submit motions and proposals to the congress commission.

Esteemed comrades! For nearly 3 months I have been entrusted by you with the post of first secretary of the Central Committee. Together with members of the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat we are trying to cope with the immense burden of responsibility. Here in the Central Committee converge the threads of all problems of the country--painful problems, difficult and complex ones. Not one of them has a simple solution or an easy answer. Complaints going in opposite directions reach us. Some complain because we are too conservative and that we are moving slowly towards renewal. Others complain because we give in or that we go too far. There are also voices criticizing the genuine shortcomings in our work.

We listen to the views of the party and of public opinion. We draw the necessary conclusions from them. Support us, comrades, with your thoughts, with your initiatives and counsel, with the readiness to undertake difficult tasks. We act under the pressure of everyday events. The burden of difficulties is being borne by us together with the great mass of party activists and members, our friends from the allied political parties and by nonparty people. Leading the country onto a straight path is possible providing there is unity and agreement between all responsible forces in the nation. In the ranks of our party wholehearted support for communist ideology, unity, a sense of responsibility which generates activeness in every field everyday and in every situation must gain the upper hand over bitterness, perplexity and emotions.

The prospect of effectively improving, further developing our socialist republic, emerges from the accumulation of worries and difficulties. Let us do everything possible to make this prospect real and not to squander this opportunity. There is a great deal of expectancy and questions about the program of action. We are drafting a number of programs. This requires time. We embark on and introduce various decisions constituting fragments of the great program for improving and developing the fatherland. In order that all these projects be fulfilled and introduced, our program for today must be realized. The program is the realization of socialist renewal in conditions of normal work and order. It is the alliance of the forces of commonsense and responsibility for democracy against anarchy; it is working out the proper methods of cooperation between authority and the self-managing organizations of the working people, particularly the trade unions.

In practice we must link the implementation of the program with precongress discussion, with preparations for the congress. This is the supreme need of socialist Poland. We must be equal to it, and we will, by closing the ranks, by developing strength in work and struggle, political struggle, in multiplying the achievements of the socialist renewal of our life.

Pinkowski on Economic Situation

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[Speech by Premier Jozef Pinkowski at the seventh plenum of the PZPR Central Committee on 1 December in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the political situation in our country is influenced to a great extent by what is happening in the economy. This was discussed by the previous speaker, Comrade Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee. The acute economic difficulties which we are experiencing have a negative influence on plants and enterprises, and on commerce and services. They are painfully felt by working people in general and by all of society.

The difficulties in our economy have been increasing for years. The country's situation was recently exacerbated by the catastrophically low results in agricultural production. This year it will be 12 percent lower than it was last year and will be below the 1973 level, that is, what it was 8 years ago. This will have an effect on the market supplies of foodstuffs and on raw materials for industry, all the more so since there has been a considerable increase in the people's purchasing power and the country's population has increased considerably in this period.

At the same time, there has recently been a significant drop in labor productivity in industry which, in addition to supply and energy difficulties, has caused a serious drop in the level of industrial production and a further worsening in the supply-industry coproduction links.

Despite a certain improvement, production volume is still below potential. The situation is made very complicated by the fact that production of many basic commodities which influence the functioning of the entire economy and supplies to the population will, this year, be considerably lower than planned: hard coal by about 12 million tonnes; rolled goods by about 600,000 tonnes; electricity by 3 billion kilowatt hours; cement by 1.8 million tonnes; and cellulose by 33,000 tonnes.

As a result, despite great efforts by the majority of workforces, we are still not making a satisfactory improvement in restoring a normal, regular rhythm of work. There are industries which are effectively overcoming difficulties and reaching results approximating the plan. They include the light industry, the timber and paper industry and a considerable part of the chemical industry.

But other branches have still not overcome difficulties. The greatest difficulties are occurring in the engineering industries; in the Ministry of Heavy and Agricultural Machines Industry, there will be about a Z6 billion production shortfall in implementing this year's plan; of that the greatest shortfall will be in the shipbuilding industry, approximately Z3 billion.

In the Ministry of Machine Engineering Industry, there will be a shortfall in the plan of about Z12 billion. A shortfall reaching about Z3 billion will arise in the foodstuffs industry. This is linked above all with a deterioration in the supplies of raw materials.

We make the initial assessment that, on the basis of the entire current year, industrial production will be at a level approximating last year's, whereas there was a planned increase of about 3 percent.

This year's construction and assembly production in the socialized economy will be about 7 percent lower than it was last year. The implementation of tasks in housing construction is taking a particularly unfavorable course. In 1980, 220,000 to 240,000 apartments will be handed over for use: but, in the plan for this year only about 180,000 apartments [as heard].

The unfavorable results in agriculture and industry, and also in other sectors of material production, will cause the national income to be lower than it was last year by about 3 percent.

In this unfavorable situation, the standard of living has been considerably threatened. To decrease that threat, the government took measures aimed at increasing budget economies, and obtaining additional foodstuffs from imports and a better management of reserve stocks. However, it turned out to be impossible to fully compensate for the production deficits and losses which, with a simultaneous increase in the people's incomes, caused a greater lack of equilibrium and a rise of tension on the market.

Our trade deficit with the capitalist countries will worsen, in relation to the plan, by Z3.5 billion in foreign exchange. This is linked to a great extent with the increase, over and above the plan's assumptions, of imported grain, fodder and foodstuffs, and also with the drop in our exports.

As this data shows, the situation of the country's economy is serious beyond words. Despite the all-round measures taken, the state of the economy is not improving.

The nation wants stability, but stability is primarily influenced by the harmonious work of the whole nation. There are no other ways to overcome the difficulties and reduce the shortages, which are a worry to the whole nation, than to raise the quality and effectiveness of work to restore its normal rhythm and to ensure essential discipline in implementing production tasks.

If we fail to achieve this, we will be threatened by an increase in production difficulties, by the disruption of the economy and by the inability, despite the best will of the organs of authority, to implement the obligations undertaken concerning improvements in the life of the working people.

The extension of such a situation inevitably causes the growth of chaos, threatens the interests of the working people and prevents us from leading the country out of the state of stagnation. By its current decisions, the government has proven its consistent implementation of the agreements which it signed. The managements of enterprises, the collectives and the ministries examine and consider thousands of demands put forward by workers. Their implementation is and will be continuously processed.

At present there do not exist any real reasons that would justify new strikes, and their unconsidered proclamation can only sharpen the difficulties from which the nation is suffering. We are of the opinion that trade unions, with whom the government desires to develop a partner-like cooperation, should also consider this situation and that they themselves should decisively oppose the disorganization of the economy because this threatens incalculable results. In an atmosphere of sensible discussion we can evaluate every social problem, search for sensible, realistic solutions, but let us act against everything that is pushing our country to the brink, each more difficult situation. It is therefore high time to restore peace and an atmosphere favoring the joint solution by the whole nation of the problems which will decide about the vital interests of the nation.

Dear comrades, of key importance are actions aimed at easing the tensions in supplies to the market. The situation in this field was not good even in the previous period. This year the monetary income of the population will rise by about Z 140 billion, that is, by 10 percent. Next year, we would expect incomes to go up by about 17 percent. Such an increase in the income of the population causes an additional, violent rise in demand for commodities and services and creates deep market imbalances. That is why they cannot and should not be increased.

Aiming at improving the market situation, we took a number of emergency measures, especially in the field of foodstuffs. We shall guarantee deliveries of basic foodstuffs during December at the level achieved last year, and in certain products they will be even better. Thus, for example, flour deliveries will be about 50,000 tonnes higher, or about 18 percent; rice about 1,500 tonnes, or about 23 percent higher; groats about 1,000 tonnes, or 4 percent higher; edible fats 3,700 tonnes, or 6.4 percent higher; eggs--15 percent more; deliveries of meat and meat products, including poultry, will be at last December's level, despite the deep drop in this year's purchasing of slaughter animals--by 150,000 tonnes in comparison with last year.

We realize that the rapidly growing demand for foodstuffs will not be fully satisfied in all cases. It must also be said openly that due to the grave drop in our agricultural output and the growing prices of food in world markets, we are facing difficult months. We are undertaking actions to ensure supplies of basic foodstuffs. This will be possible only by increasing our own production of foodstuffs, through better and more effective use of this production, and through creating a distribution system which in a just and efficient way would ensure the distribution of the limited supplies of foodstuffs among all consumers.

We are focusing our attention on that. As concerns meat and animal fats, we have put forward for social discussion the proposal to introduce a ration card system. We realize the drawbacks of the ration card system of sale for society and for trade. We think, however, that in the conditions of a serious drop in animal production, this is the only way to make sure that every family gets a minimum of foodstuffs which are in deficit. We propose to introduce ration cards for meat and meat products and for animal fats for an interim period. At the same time, we are counteracting a further collapse in animal husbandry. For that reason we took the decision on a very high import of grain and fodder. We have considerably increased procurement prices for production supplies by the countryside. This guarantees the profitability of animal production. Measures are being taken to safeguard the basic herd of pigs and cattle, for better management of breeding material. Other measures are aimed at creating conditions for the rapid rebuilding of animal breeding. These are the most important tasks for agriculture and all work in the countryside is being subordinated to them.

In further measures to promote supplies to the foodstuffs market, we shall be aiming both at better management of agricultural raw materials as well as mobilization of the essential assets for the complementary import of foodstuffs. The government has authorized the minister of domestic trade and services to develop the multilateral exchange and export of industrial market goods, in exchange for the import of foodstuffs.

We predict that next year it will be possible to obtain in this way additional supplies of foodstuffs to a value of more than Z20 billion. I think that the proposal will gain the approval of society, that in the current difficult food situation further possibilities of increasing supplies of foodstuffs to the market should be sought, by allocating for additional export some industrial market commodities which have no fundamental significance for the standing of living of the majority of families.

In the existing conditions, we will be focusing our attention primarily on covering society's needs for basic industrial goods. With this in view, we shall be introducing changes in the structure of market production. They must be made by industry and commerce in close cooperation. There can be no production which was not ordered, (?excess production) or which is for an indefined consumer.

An important role in shaping the structure of production is played by the workforces themselves. It is an important platform for demonstrating responsibility in supplying the population. We would like this issue to be at the center of attention of the workforces when the plans are worked out for the coming year and the current production tasks are implemented.

Acceleration of the development of the service sector is significant for the general development of the monetary and market situation. The supply of services does not satisfy social needs. We shall provide a better supply of materials to the service enterprises. Conditions will be created to improve the profitability of service. In spite of actions taken to increase deliveries of goods and services to the population the monetary and market balance will worsen further in the coming year because of the envisaged large increase in the population's monetary incomes. That is why it is important to take steps to encourage saving and to stabilize the market. With this aim in mind a decision was taken to increase the interest rate on savings and the various forms of savings will be expanded and made more attractive, in particular as regards saving for specific goals. In accordance with the universal feeling in the community, decisions are being prepared to limit high, socially unjustified, incomes and to reduce their range. To achieve this we shall change the present principles of the levelling [wyrownawczy] tax. We know that the present system of wage payments has many weaknesses. The social character of the recent wage settlements did not allow the implementation of a wide-ranging reconstruction and improvement of the wage payment system. This important task should be gradually tackled by us in the coming 5-year period.

By the middle of the coming year we shall work out, in cooperation with the trade unions, the principles of pay policy for 1981-85. They should provide the socially justified levelling of the differences in wages, that is differences between the lowest and the highest wage, as well as providing proper proportions for wages of various social and professional groups in accordance with qualifications, work contribution and effects of work, liquidating of the sharply criticised wage (?differentials) and all phenomena of unjustified differences in incomes.

The mechanism of recompense for the increase in costs of living, which is being worked on, should ensure the protection of real income. Within the framework of the implemented improvements to the economy and financial and economic management system we shall change the principles of managing the wage fund so that it becomes linked more closely with the economic management system we shall change the principles of managing the wage fund so that it becomes linked more closely with the economic results of work enterprises.

At the same time we shall be creating conditions to conduct a more independent wage policy in enterprises, based on the principles of justified wages based on the work done.

This will be served by the appraisal of the relationship of wages that is in preparation, and of the wage system.

A better foundation for a just wage policy and social contributions is guaranteed by the so-called social minimum which is being prepared and will be introduced in 1981 for implementation. The social minimum will be based on the cost of living.

Within the framework of the reform of the pension system, implementation of which will begin next year, we are preparing draft bills amending the law on pensions. In this case, too, we are aiming at the gradual liquidation of the so-called old portfolio, at defining conditions for a periodical review of pensions and disability payments in connection with the increase in the cost of living, and also at doing away with unjustified and considerable differences in the size of pensions.

In our social policy we shall be consolidating the principles of social justice. In compliance with this principle we shall be removing the injustices that have arisen in the wage policy and in social policy and shape their new forms in compliance with the aims of our socialist nation.

Comrades, the housing situation causes many fervent discussions. In this field we still have considerable demand that is not satisfied. Our nation is a community of young people, characterized by a high percentage of new marriages, and this means that the shortage of housing is felt particularily acutely.

Despite the considerable lowering next year of all investments we have decided as regards housing construction, to maintain it at least at its present level. This also applies to investments in the health service, education and culture. By reducing the range of industrial construction, we shall transfer a considerable part of its production potential to housing construction, at the same time improving supplies of building materials.

The vast majority of socialized housing construction that is taking place in towns is based on elements produced in factories producing prefabricated sections. There is much justified criticism of the technological and architectural solutions in the construction of prefabricated houses. Thus, it is a very important matter to make the proper use of the possibilities of factories making prefabricated sections, to gradually modernize them, to develop the industry of construction materials and of other sectors of the housing industry.

All this guarantees not only a quantitative increase, but what is equally important, a qualitative progress in housing construction.

In undertaking the work on the development of the program of housing construction for the next 5-year period, the government has approached scientific and technical associations with a request for their active participation in the preparation of the program. This met with a positive reply.

We will be making full use of the suggestions and proposals put forward. We will be creating more favorable conditions for the development of individual housing construction. This will find practical expression in an increase in the supplies of building materials and in the extension of credit with a simultaneous improvement in its conditions. Decisions on this issue will be made before the end of December.

We also think it essential to make changes in the apartment allocation policy. We think that dwellings put up by housing cooperatives should be allocated primarily to their members, under the supervision of the cooperatives themselves. We expect the housing cooperative movement to fully ensure a just allocation of dwellings. For families who are worse off, an extension of financial aid is forecast for making (?payments) to a housing cooperative and favorable conditions for paying off loans. We are stepping up the struggle against speculation in apartments and strengthening the control of the state and society over the housing situation. Given the still considerable shortage of apartments, the right of a family to own only one apartment must be universally observed.

A task of particular importance is to improve the protection of society's health. The neglect that has been accumulating in this sector is meeting with justified societal criticism. We proceed from the assumption that, despite the economic difficulties, this sphere of activity should be treated in a way which ensures a gradual, visible improvement.

The government has made a decision on the purchase of medicines and raw materials for their production abroad. In the fourth quarter of this year, supplies of medicines will increase by more than Z500 million, that is, by about 12 percent. In 1981, expenditures on drugs will increase by more than Z2 billion. There is an assumed 9 percent increase in supplies of pharmaceutical products from domestic production. In addition, the purchase of finished medicines from the capitalist countries will increase by about 43 percent. At the same time, we are importing medicines from the socialist countries to a total value of Z400 million in foreign exchange.

Industrial ministries have been put under the obligation to increase the production of medical apparatus and equipment. To improve the situation in this sector, we have curtailed exports this year and earmarked more medical instruments and equipment for national health service establishments.

We also want to improve health care conditions, among others through an increase in expenditures and increase in nutritional payments [stawka zywieniowa] at the health service and welfare centers. The whole spectrum of government intentions aimed at significantly improving the health service will be contained in the comprehensive program of development of the health and welfare services for 1981-85, which is under preparation. It will include the development of the pharmaceutical industry and production of medical equipment.

The question of leisure and of a change to a 5-day week is closely connected with the issue of living conditions. Proposals concerning these matters have been presented for discussion. The discussion so far has concentrated mainly on the general applicability of providing free Saturdays for all employees and a greater shortening of the work week than was previously proposed. However, too little place has been given in the debate to the matters of roganizing work in such a way that it would be possible to achieve in the coming year the essential increase in production within the framework of the 5-day week. Further curtailing of the time of work, with a simultaneous lack of progress in organizational and technical backup to production, can cause a decrease in production. Such danger exists in particular in extraction industries and in industries which work around the clock. This would have a negative effect on our entire economy and supplies to the population. Therefore we are of the opinion that in the debate on the 5-day week it is necessary to work out such solutions which will reconcile an increase in leisure with a guarantee of the proper level of production.

Comrades, our society is concerned with how to remove the inequalities and ensure the harmonious development of the country. What should we be doing in this sphere?

The main thing which influences the return to complete equilibrium is an increase in productivity and ensuring the correct proportions in the creation and distribution of the national income. This requires most of all full use of the production potential in industry and agriculture as well as in other spheres of production. At the same time we must obtain a significant decrease in production costs. In the present situation it is most important to shape the production tasks on the basis of a realistic assessment of the availability of raw materials and other material, such as power, parts and units produced by cooperative factories and so forth.

Speaking about 1981, I wish to stress that it will be very difficult. This results primarily from the very bad, actually catastrophic harvest and from its influence on the production of foodstuffs next year. This also results from the very painfully low domestic production of fuel and raw materials, mainly coal, copper and others.

Finally, I wish to point to the grave difficulties connected with our imports from capitalist countries.

Thus, when fixing the aims and the plans for 1981, we must take into account these very important factors. With this in mind, we propose that in the shaping of the plan for the immediate future and for 1981 we must not aim at quantitative increases. We must concentrate the attention of the work forces of collectives and ministries on the improvement of the production conditions of enterprises.

To ease tensions, to achieve improvements in cooperation and in supplies of spare parts, to define realistic ways for saving materials and for ensuring improvements in the quality of production--it is on this road that we can achieve real progress in our economy, as long as the fixed economic relationships are observed at the same time.

With this in mind, we shall as a first priority guarantee deliveries of raw and other materials to enterprises producing basic market commodities and commodities that could be profitably exported.

This should enable us to improve the structure of production and ensure an increase in production for the market and for exports that would be higher than the increase in the general production in industry.

During November and December, we have guaranteed, among other things, additional means amounting to Z800 million in foreign currency for supplementary imports of materials and cooperation elements.

This year from the Soviet Union we are getting additional deliveries, apart from market supplies, of some important industrial raw materials, including cotton, apatites and ammonia. The delivery of increased amounts of many raw materials of fundamental importance was also guaranteed for next year.

We are carrying out a fundamental change in our approach to the problem of development of agriculture. Our aim is to create a modern material-technical base for agriculture.

I want to state once again that the guiding principle of the next 5-year period will be the expansion of agriculture and the agricultural foodstuffs industry. Next year already, despite the difficult situation of the country's economy, in particular of mineral fertilizers, there will be expansion on a scale enabling an increase in fertilization by at least 10 kg per hectare of arable land.

Supplies of machinery, agricultural implements, spare parts and building materials will be increased. We must shape conditions in industry and in the whole economy for a better consideration of the needs of agriculture. The developmental priorities of agriculture and the food economy, defined from the standpoint of the Politburo and the Presidium of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL, must find confirmation in the initiatives and production plans of enterprises, and in the final result of increased supplies for rural areas.

Preferences will be created for a better use of the potential of small-scale industry and crafts. With this aim we will ensure better conditions for the development of local raw materials as well as an improvement in supplies from centralized sources. The limit and formal-legal barriers, which curtail the utilization of the production potential of small-scale industry and crafts, will be removed.

We are taking on difficult tasks. For this reason, it is extremely important for party organizations, trade union organizations and above all the entire economic administration, from ministries, amalgamations down to enterprise managements, master craftsmen and foremen, to develop measures aimed at ensuring a better organization of production tasks, a better use of the potential of every plant.

As regards the sphere of division of the national income, the fundamental task here is to protect society's standard of living. To ensure this we must considerably decrease the assets earmarked for investment and considerably intensify economies in the management of all kinds of resources, especially for purposes not linked with the population's living conditions.

With this aim in mind, we have carried out an analysis of continued and newly-commenced investments and at present, on the basis of government recommendations, ministers and voivodas are taking specific decisions on curtailing and freezing investment.

This is not meeting with understanding everywhere. It is, after all, essential in the existing situation. The changes being made in the investment sphere are very complicated. The idea is not only to cut the level of expenditure, but also to initiate changes in the investment structure which will give preference to the food economy, market supplies, housing construction and health protection. It is also aimed that the freeze in the implementation of a section of investments will not have a negative effect in the long term on the country's developmental conditions.

For this reason it has been accepted that a part of the frozen investments will be able to be continued when the country's economic situation improves. We propose a ban next year on beginning new industrial investments, apart from those specified by the Council of Ministers.

A great reserve lies in the management of the machinery and installations bought but not yet installed. The value of this machinery is currently about Z50 billion, of which about two-thirds of the value is imported. They are burdening the economy, increase the reserves and do not contribute to creating the national income. On the basis of the analysis, we see a possibility of installing next year as yet unused machinery to a value of about Z20 billion. In order to prevent this type of occurrence in future, government supervision will be increased over contracts concluded for the supply of machinery and installations from abroad. At the same time their domestic production will be adapted to changes in the investment program.

Comrades, one of the key problems of the economy is the gradual solution of the difficulties which have accumulated over past years, resulting from the excessive indebtedness of the state to foreign countries. Our difficulties would be still greater if it were not for the help and additional commodity supplies from the socialist countries and especially from the Soviet Union. The development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is of fundamental significance for overcoming our difficulties. This is fruitful and useful cooperation which has a fundamental significance for the country's further development. It ensures us a stability in the supplies of raw materials and materials, including those so decisive for the economy such as petroleum, gas, ore, cotton, chemical industry products; and also conditions for favorable production cooperation and specialization.

The expansion of this cooperation will be one of the fundamental tasks during the work on the plans for next year and for the next 5-year period.

A very important matter, too, is to increase our trade with capitalist countries. The payments situation with these countries is exceptionally grave; in practical terms, imports from these countries are dependent on the size of the credits which we are able to obtain and on our ability to pay our debts.

Hence, the size of imports from capitalist countries must be based on a realistic apprisal of our sitaution and the whole economy has to adapt itself to this. From this stems our task of shaping next year's plan in such a way that we have the means to import raw and other materials.

This situation creates the need for continual production of profitable exports. To guarantee conditions for implementation of this goal, it is imperative to make use of all means for increasing production for export, wherever this is not at odds with the needs of our domestic market, and to create a more effective system of bonuses for workforces of enterprises producing for export, for their cooperative partners and for the workforces of foreign trade enterprises. We will verify the existing principles and we shall create a bonus fund that should become a stimulus for increasing export production.

Finally, we must strengthen the coordinating functions of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy in exchanging commodities with foreign countries with a view to expanding our foreign markets, formulating a unified policy of agreements, credits and payments by the state and strengthening discipline in the implementation of export and import tasks.

Comrades, I have outlined the current work of the government and the key problems connected with the work on the plan for next year. In our work, we will also concentrate a great deal of attention on the following problems:

1. The preparation for economic reform and conditions for its implementation;

2. Within the framework of the work on the 5-year plan, the preparation of a 2 or 3-year program for restoring the balance and economic stability of our country.

Economic reform is an undertaking of fundamental importance for the efficient functioning of the economy. At present, it is still difficult to define the final shape of the reform. Intense work is going on in the commission and in its teams.

The orientation of the reform is being decided. It is recognized as essential to work out solutions which would guarantee a broad scope of independence for enterprises and genuine participation of the workers' self-government in management. The achievement of the reform's objectives requires a considerable broadening of the powers and responsibilities of enterprises; the elimination of many concerning tasks and goals applied to them; and the consideration of financial results as one of the basic criteria for the decisions made.

This also requires a rationalization of the system of purchase prices, to make them properly fulfill the function of an instrument of economic calculation. An integral part of work on the reform will be a program to improve organizational structures, to simplify them and to eliminate superfluous cells and levels of management.

The discussion to date shows that a radical streamlining of the organization at the central level will be essential. This concerns above all branch ministries and government functional and staff bodies and will promote a strengthening of central management on strategic issues and at the same time widen the plane of social participation in the planning process and in the division of assets for specific purposes. Theses containing the main guidelines of the reform will be presented to the public in the next few weeks.

While we work on the final configuration of the reform, we will be introducing from 1981 radical changes in the management of enterprises. They boil down to this: The enterprise management and the workers' self-government will get considerably broader powers for formulating their plan of activity. The number of indices given to enterprises by superior units will be cut in half in comparison with those at present.

The employment limit will be lifted. The wage fund saved as a result of a drop in employment will remain for the enterprise's use. The increase of the enterprises' wage funds will depend on an increase in net production in manufacturing branches and on a rise in production in raw material and mining branches.

Enterprises will obtain wide powers in the disposal of their wage fund. These projects will go halfway to meet the workers' demands. We expect that now that next year's plan is being discussed, these projects will inspire new initiatives from the workforces and managements of enterprises aimed at increasing labor productivity and efficiency and that they will contribute to a considerable increase in production for the home and export markets.

In perfecting the system of the functioning of the economy and the state we will cut the size of the administration and simplify its organizational structure cutting its costs.

Many administrative buildings are already now being handed over for important social objectives. We will take steps aimed at eliminating excess employment in the state and economic administration. There should be no apprehension here about employment. In the wake of decreased investments, the (?redefinition? of many plants and radical employment regroupings, await us. Our economy, even in the period of important structural changes which we are facing, will however, require a rational use of all labor reserves. A particularly important problem which we are all facing is the building of social trust in the authorities and the strengthening of their authority. The building of trust assumes both wide social control and consultation, and an increased social discipline in implementing the decisions taken. It is linked therefore with a proper understanding and broadening of socialist democracy. The solution of the existing problems will not be possible if we do not overcome the still occurring mistrust in the activity of the state authorities, the reluctance or barren negation toward it. Only with mutual trust and cooperation on the authorities-citizen axis, is fully efficient and effective activity in the interest of the country and the nation possible.

As regards the 3-year program for restoring economic balance and the economic stabilization of the country on which we are working it is too early for it to be presented. The work is still in progress. But I will say, in a general way, that our work in this field should bring about the removal of many fundamental disproportions in our country's economy.

The key task will be to achieve a fundamental improvement in the market situation [passage indistinct] of family allowances and pensions, and this will shape the new form of our social policy; and to prepare and considerably advance economic reform, which will contribute to improvements in the functioning of the economy and to improving its effectiveness. An important task, too, will be to expand our export ability.

Dear comrades, the implementation of our intentions in the social and economic spheres depends to a large extent on ensuring progress in the work of administration at all levels. It has to cope with the new social conditions, develop partnerlike cooperation with the various forms of self-government that are epxanding and with the different trade union movements.

The government is aiming at raising the professional and ethical standards of all levels of administratin, at increasing their prerogatives and responsibility toward efficient and effective functioning. With this in view we shall introduce next year a real decentralization of economic prerogatives in the system of local authorities and administration.

In recent weeks the administration has been subjected to a strict test. Some echelons have failed it through lack of competence, addiction to routine, lack of sensitivity to human problems and through opportunism. Cases of dishonesty, corruption and exploitation of office for personal benefit were revealed. We are taking severe action against such employees of the administration.

The state administration must be competent and efficient, it must represent a high moral and social authority. The vast majority of employees of the administration are a cadre of workers loyal to the socialist state, able to work in present conditions for the implementation of the tasks outlined by the party in the process of renewal and placed before the administration by the representative organs of state authority.

In the work of administration we consolidate principles for making decisions in which there is place to use public opinion, for collegiality, for using the opinions of experts and advisers, in which there can be risks, but in which the individual personal responsibility of the manger is clearly defined. We shall see to it that this responsibility is fully adhered to.

In fulfilling its constitutional obligations, the government sees the trade unions as its most important partner. For this reason we will intensify and develop cooperation with the whole trade union movement, with the branch trade unions and with the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity.

Partnership demands intensified cooperation in solving the problems of the working people and in the country's development. We desire to cooperate with the workers', rural and cooperative self-government; with the self-government of creative circles; with all cells of civic self-government on these principles. Only when all social forces in our country pool their resources for the good of the socialist homeland will there be a guarantee of overcoming the problems which face us. Law and order are essential for this, as well as citizens' general respect for the law. All of this influences the fulfillment of society's most important expectations.

In our system, the state provides for the common good of the whole nation; it is a joint organization of the whole nation. Each citizen should be concerned about making the state organism strong and healthy in every respect. The standard of living, the development of the country, security and conditions for peaceful existence depend on the efficiency of the state and all its bodies, beginning with the state's influence on production and supplies, through transport, the health services and education.

Anything that weakens the work of the state in its fundamental functions inevitably hits at the vital interests of the nation. That is why all who have the welfare of Poland, the welfare of our socialist fatherland in their heart should oppose all attempts at weakening the people's state and its organs, or any action aimed at the socialist principles of the system in People's Poland.

We share the views that are expressed more and more often that the state administration itself must be consistent and decisive in actions aimed at safeguarding the interests of the nation and of the state. The extent of the difficulties which our country has to overcome forces us to concentrate all efforts, all means at the state's disposal on whatever will facilitate the successful overcoming of the crisis that has arisen. We realize that the demands and the social expectations connected with the work of the government are high. We have tried to take up the difficult problems and to develop actions for their implementation in compliance with the decisions of the sixth plenum of the Central Committee.

There are, no doubt, many problems which should be solved more quickly and effectively. With all of these tasks in mind, I wish to emphasize that we shall be doing everything which will favor the stabilization of life in the country and the guaranteeing of a normal rhythm of work.

The government finds support in this work from the entire party, from its experienced, selfless and involved cadres and from all social forces actively opposing anarchy and chaos, which take offensive actions against all attempts at destabilizing our life, which support the renewal of the socioeconomic life of the country and which at the same time fully understand that this process can follow the correct road only in conditions of strict social and production discipline and that this can only be a process of the correct continuation of the socialist development of Poland.

Thank you.

Session Resumes 2 December

LD020932 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] The seventh plenum of the PZPR Central Committee resumed its deliberations in Warsaw today. A debate on the paper delivered by Stanislaw Kania entitled "The Party's Tasks in the Struggle for the Socialist Character of the Renewal of Social Life" and on other plenum documents is now in progress.

The first to take part in the debate were Andrzej Bosowski, member of the Central Committee and senior craftsman at the Raciborz boiler factory in Katowice Voivodship, and Jerzy Kusiak, deputy Central Committee member and first secretary of the party voivodship committee in Poznan.

Today's agenda also includes organizational matters and the adoption of the resolutions.

Comment on Plenum

LD011628 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] All of Poland has been waiting for today's seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum. This waiting was born of the awareness that in the process of renewal, the voice of the leading force which outlines the directions of the social transformations and decides on the norms and shape of our existence, is the voice for which every Polish woman and man has been waiting.

Today's plenum is taking place in difficult conditions for the party and its members. A section of the people who were entrusted with functions in the state's management structure have betrayed the party's trust. Those people on whom depended the fate and dignity of many workforces of institutions, amalgamations and ministries, of central agencies and of factories, did not turn out to be worthy of a party card.

It is a great truth that socialism has powerful wings, that its ideals soar high, that it will carry this additional burden which has fallen on our party together with the whole of society as a result of the mistakes and the most common inability of some people to be equal to the cause, the representation on which is an honor and a privilege, as is every service to the nation.

But [words indistinct] for such is the dialectic of recent events in Poland. Not one single real worker's voice, not one single hand was raised in recent months for the ideological principles of our system of government. There was and is bitter talk. There is a great deal of exasperation and disquiet. Life is not easy now for those people for whom the party card of a communist is a card of integrity, modesty, self-sacrifice and [words indistinct].

But the party said from the outset and asserts it under all circumstances--and in recent months those circumstances have been varied--that there is no departure from the renewal process, from purging what is bad, from drawing conclusions from what has happened, from constructing a program of reforms which get social approval, from undertaking the toil of building a Poland which is just to each one of its citizens.

It is bitter for all of us, which is human, very human, but in the name of the land we live in, in the name of what has already been done, in the name of creating a democracy in which evil can be named by name [words indistinct] we must have faith in our party and see the movement of renewal being brought about in its ranks.

This will not happen all at once. It will not run smoothly and without difficulties. From the statement of Zdzislaw Kurowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, carried in the Saturday-Sunday issue of TRYBUNA LUDU, it emerges clearly that it will be necessary to part company with those people who, through a misunderstanding of what is being done in Poland and in the party, are harming the ideological purity of party ranks, the reconstruction of its authority and are still hoping that they may save themselves at the price of lowering the value and force of the most lofty ideals of socialism.

But it is not this movement and not those poeple who make up the PZPR of 1980. The first to understand this were the workforces for which, in the face of all economic complications and difficulties which confront us, the supreme value became the honest and self-sacrificing working colleagues in work, those who make up the workers' collective, on whom the toil of producing what later has to be divided among the whole nation rests. There is no other division among people and there should not be.

For this reason, with out whole hearts going with the part of renewal, we are following with attention the seventh Central Committee plenum taking place today. We believe that the voice of the seventh plenum will be a help to all those who, for the good of the homeland, are prepared to work and live.

PZPR MEDIA CHIEF ON POSSIBLE NEW CRISIS, UPHEAVALS

LD011135 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 22 Nov 80 p 5

[Mika Larsson interview with "Polish Communist Party Central Committee mass media unit chief Jozef Klasa": "I Fear a New Crisis"--date not specified]

[Text] Warsaw--[presumably Klasa:] "The party has a leading role in society and has no intention of yielding its power. But to avoid future crises we must democratize the party, democratize the life of Polish society. This is the content of the renewal process we have now begun. Solidarity is the first step in this process."

SVENSKA DAGBLADET: The personnel changes in the Polish party leadership meant a break with the propaganda model built on the principle that, regardless of what was actually happening, Poland should always be presented as the land of continual success and progress. What role do you think the propaganda of success played in the strength of the summer revolt?

Klasa: I think that what we call the propaganda of success was one of the facets of the general crisis in the country. Such a propaganda model is built on the endless manipulation of facts. This led to a situation in which life as it was described did not correspond to reality all along the line.

My view is that the mass media are not the most important cause, but a very important cause, of the fact that the crisis we find ourselves in today is so deep. The mass media strengthened the distrust of the party, for the party speaks through the mass media. Since these had the habit of not speaking the truth, or to a large extent telling lies, people first stopped believing those people who controlled the media. In other words, the party.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET: Can you furnish guarantees that the mass media will not revert to their old ways?

Klasa: This is one of our most difficult problems.

The most important guarantee against the crisis repeating itself is change within the party. Full democracy within the party itself is the first thing needed.

Second, we need clear criteria for a personnel policy. The third factor is the principle of rotation in important posts and, finally, an electoral system which through its formal structure automatically eliminates the incompetent, the unpopular, the corrupt and so on.

Of course, we must create other institutional guarantees outside the party such as a democratically elected parliament with the task of exerting real control over the government plus an authentic trade union movement, not a manipulated movement, but an authentic trade union movement working for the interests of the employees.

Today we already have something of all this--we have Solidarity, for example. I think that one of the guarantees that the crisis will not repeat itself could be Solidarity. Not the only one, of course, and not the most important. The most important one must be the party. Since the communist party a priori has the leading role in the socialist system, what happens in the state and in the life of society is directly dependent on the party's structure and its internal mechanisms.

Another guarantee could be the broadening of the power base. The election of people to the parliament and to the government must take place outside the party's own ranks to a much greater extent. Why can Poland not have a number of apolitical ministers? Why could Catholics not hold some of the ministerial posts? Why could the Front of National Unity not be a true social force, and so on?

Only all of these elements together can amount to a guarantee against yet another crisis, even more upheavals [avarter] in national life. Our crises repeat themselves cyclically: We have already had four serious crises, three of them extremely dramatic.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET: What is the difference between a trade union in the West and one in the East?

Klasa: In the West the trade union movement is strongly politicized. It is an authentically political movement. In the East all the means of production are owned by society. In purely theoretical terms the trade union movement is an extension of the system.

In Poland--I prefer to limit my remarks to Poland--we created in the past a trade union movement which would function as an aid to administration. The present model, of which Solidarity is an expression, I like a great deal--not a political party, but a movement in defense of the workers' social, material and cultural interests.

We do not know how it will work in practice. What we have in Poland today is an experiment, a large-scale experiment. How the experiment stands up to the test we will only know in a year's time. But it is an experiment that has already produced enormous results because the new trade union movement itself represents the first step in a process whose aim is to correct the extremely serious wrong turns that have been made in our political system.

The new situation we find ourselves in gives rise to a theoretical problem. Within the socialist movement we talk of "workers self-determination." But how is this principle to be united with the principle of "codetermination?" The person who governs must also be held responsible. From the theoretical viewpoint it is an enormously interesting problem.

I think that in its first phase the trade union movement must defend the principle of social justice and not be given responsibility for the true state of affairs. We are in this phase today. In the next phase the question of responsibility will come into the picture because they will participate in steering Poland's course. I believe that we have such a development in front of us which absolutely does not mean that we will return to old ways!

On this point Solidarity is not agreed internally, there are different views. The question demands both a theoretical and a practical solution. I personally think that practice will precede theory here. Practice will create theory.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET: In your view, what can Solidarity give the Poles and Poland?

Klasa: What Solidarity has given us so far is the fact that the movement has triggered the present process toward renewal. Solidarity's long-term goal ought to be to create and consolidate democratic forms of government. Perhaps our experiment will develop into something new, a new idea within socialism.

However, Solidarity's first task is to restore the workers' dignity for this was where the very basis for the movement's emergence lay.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET: There is still suspicion on both sides--in the party toward Solidarity and in Solidarity toward the party. What must the party with its power do to overcome Solidarity's suspicions and vice versa?

Klasa: I think that the suspicions on both sides are well founded. What happened was that something was born outside the party, outside the control of the party, something which took the party by surprise.

The party immediately became suspicious; it did not know what sort of force it had to deal with. It suspected that it was something which would turn against the party, against the socialist system. The suspicions were natural.

I am thankful that the party leadership--not without opposition, and not that quickly, either--realized that this was a justified workers' revolt. I am thankful, for this prevented a violent confrontation. It was close, patience was quite simply exhausted.

Recognizing the revolt as a justified workers' revolt is the same as admitting one's own mistakes, even though it is not put in so many words.

But the realization came quite late. It was forced on us. The late realization and the fact that it was forced on us gave rise in its turn to suspicion on the other side, suspicion which was also quite natural.

It was natural because those who had organized the revolt had only bad experience of the party leadership. The party leadership was for them a force which had already tricked them many times, in the sense that it had not kept its promises. That was what happened after 1956 and that is what happened after 1970.

Their experience told them that this force must be watched, that it could not be trusted.

It was completely natural for all cooperation to be rejected initially. The antagonism is the basis for the way we have of working with each other. We have to live with it, quite simply.

It is part of the settlement between the government and the strikers. The Gdansk settlement is a product of suspicion. They demand that everything must be put down on paper, because they have lost their faith in the spoken word. This suspicion will last for a long time.

The threat of a strike is an expression of the same suspicion. Today a new layer of suspicion is growing on top of the old one. It is growing on both sides. It is growing inside the party apparatus, which is being subjected to continual criticism by Solidarity. Mistakes are being dug up and paraded in public.

The suspicion on the part of those in power is also due to the fact that, today, people whom we describe as antisocialist are joining Solidarity, people who are opponents of the socialist system as such. They claim that the system has shown itself to be impossible to reform, incapable of creating a good society and a good economy.

We say that this is not true, that socialism is a good idea, a good system, but an idea that we have shaped badly in practice. So what have we today? On the one hand the party is accusing certain people in Solidarity of being opponents of socialism. From Solidarity come accusations against parts of the party apparatus, which are called conservative, highhanded, corrupt and so on, and opponents of socialism.

Along with this we also have sluggishness in changes of attitude on the part of those in power and behavior toward Solidarity by certain sections of the party apparatus that is sometimes incorrect. The indigenous suspicion on both sides has thus caused a new wave of suspicion!

For me this is also quite natural. It is not something that worries me. It is clear that his process will not run smoothly. It is such a great problem we have to solve that the solution will emerge through major conflicts and even through struggle. Let us hope that it will only be a political, an ideological struggle and not a confrontation, a struggle involving violence.

Personally, I am deeply worried by three aspects of Solidarity. The first is its fairly regrettable attitude toward the law, toward the state bodies, and element of anarchism. Attitudes of the type: "If we do not get legal status then we will just have to act illegally," "well now, you don't allow that, so we'll do it anyway," "if you will not judge, then we will." This is a struggle for justice by appointing yourself judge. Every state needs a strong, stable structure to be able to overcome conflicts.

Another thing that worries me is the lack of realism, an inability to distinguish between the possible and the ideal. They want to change everything at a stroke but each change is a process! There is a lack of realization that developments must take place gradually.

It is a difficult, arduous process we have facing of us. We must move forward the whole time, along a road that has been staked out. But it is wrong to think that anything can be changed by a single fantastic somersault. The third thing which worries me is that Solidarity is being joined by people who are rightly distrusted by our side, who want to make a career out of the renewal process.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET: Poland today has no democratic tradition to link up with. Do you see this lack as a direct threat to the renewal process?

Klasa: This is something I am afraid of. Theoretically we have a very democratic form of government but up to now we have had an extremely undemocratic practice. However we have chosen a correct road. As a communist I believe that it is only along this road that we can reach a true democracy. This is where my optimism lies. Up to the end of the century we can learn democracy by preserving a socialist form of government.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET: Why was there no invasion of Poland during the strikes?

Klasa: I would not call it invasion. You are thinking, I know, of what happened in Czechoslovakia. The basic reason why help from our allies was never in question was because the socialist form of government was never threatened. It was dangerous, indeed it was! Without a doubt. For no one knew in what direction this would develop. Second, the path of dialogue was the result of the incredible discipline amongst the workers. They chose a form of protest that was always peaceful, never aggressive. They did not threaten the form of government, nor the centralized power. These two reasons are enough.

I believe that Polish communists would ask for this type of help only in the case of an unambiguous direct attack on socialism. But the Poles want to overcome their problems with their own forces.

We have a long road ahead of us. I believe that we are still only at the beginning of the crisis. I believe that we still have not fully taken the step across the margin of danger for on top of the political crisis there are enormous economic problems: the lack of goods, the gigantic foreign debts, and the weather--the floods and the cold.

All this is very dangerous for the mood of the country among the people. But I believe that we will manage to solve our problems for ourselves despite this with the help of the sympathy and understanding of our socialist friends and our nonsocialist friends.

I think that there were two reasons why we did not need help. The intelligence of the working class, and the intelligence of those in power. I believe that if we had tried to solve the conflict by force, we would have produced an even bigger conflict....

Here we have Stanislaw Kania's greatest strength. It lies in his decisive intention from the start to solve the question by peaceful means. He is sticking to this line, despite the enormous problems we have in this country.

He drew conclusions from 1970 when innocent workers died. He said: as long as I am a member of the party leadership I will never agree to the use of force against the workers, despite the fact that such tendencies did exist within the leadership. They were there. It always seems so simple to solve problems with shows of force. Kania refused to agree to this.

That is why he became party chief.

By no means did all share his view, not at all. I myself am a supporter of the same view, it is the only way, the way which should be binding for all civilized states and we want to be a civilized country.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET: The revolt was not, you say, a real threat to socialism. But reality is one thing and people's view of reality another.

Klasa: This is where the wisdom came in. The appraisal made was the correct appraisal.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET: Does the economic situation amount to a threat to the process of renewal? Democracy and the school of democracy need time. The economic crisis calls for swift, radical and effectively implemented measures.

Klasa: My view is that the extremely difficult, indeed catastrophic, economic situation in the country will not help the renewal process.

There is an inherent conflict here. The economy, principally the lack of goods, gives rise to an extremely bad atmosphere, a negative attitude toward those in power. It sustains the lack of trust in the centralized power. The distrust obstructs the renewal, obstructs democratization.

The central aspect of the crisis is the lack of goods. When a woman does not have what she needs to feed her family at home, then a bad atmosphere is created. I even think that the shortage of goods could trigger another serious conflict in the country. That is my view.

The economic situation also means that the country's leaders are busy with something else, not only with renewal. The poor state of the economy also requires great discipline. The transition to democratic practices goes hand in hand with a certain weakening of discipline. Here we have an inherent mutual dependence.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET: Is it at all possible to implement the renewal you speak of without far-reaching changes of personnel in the administrative apparatus and within the party? I am thinking here of the people who have deep-rooted undemocratic habits.

Klasa: I think that some of the people who up to now have been in power not only understand what is going on, are not only able to adapt themselves, but can even make great contributions to the renewal process. I cannot judge how large a percentage they constitute but they are a strong group.

However, a large number of people will be forced to go. They will be forced to go for three reasons. The largest group, in my opinion, is those who do not believe in renewal. They do not have the ability to adapt themselves to what is new and they will never be able to work under the new conditions of partnership.

The second group is people who quite simply do not have the qualifications. The third, finally, is the demoralized ones, people who have been in power far too long, who have grown used to misusing power for their own gain, their own comfort. They have used power to win prestige as well as material advantages.

I believe that the preparatory process before the ninth party congress, the congress itself and the immediate postcongress period will be the period in which we see the largest wave of resignations and dismissals. But this too is a process. It cannot, it must not have the character of a violent, revolutionary change at one stroke.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET: We are today witnessing a protest wave from the grassroots not only in Polish society but in the Communist Party too. Just as the workers are demanding to shape trade union policy in the country, they also demand, in their role as party members, to share the party's policy.

Klasa: This is correct, it is spreading through the party's ranks. We are witnessing a revival. But it seems to me to have a fairly unconstructive direction in the sense that it is a wave directed against the party leadership, against the party organs, a protest, an expression of no confidence. This worries the party leadership a lot.

The movement is primarily intent on hastening the congress. The party leadership considers that the congress can only be organized when the fundamental causes of the political and economic crisis have been overcome. A party that is not consolidated, that is filled with an atmosphere of settling accounts, of settling with the past, could only hold a very bad congress. It would be like the congress the Czechs had in 1968. That congress had a very bad effect for Czechoslovakia, its resolutions had to be withdrawn.

It was precisely that congress which was the cause of the help from outside.

A congress held too early could turn out to gather those people who are not the wisest, the most circumspect. They could adopt resolutions which are not good for the future.

There is a danger here. But this movement from below gives rise to great hopes! The masses have finally got some life, they are alive! The party is on its way to consolidating itself. The party members are seeking each other out. They want to meet, they make decisions, they discuss. The party has begun to live. The question now is what direction this energy is to be channeled. It must be channeled toward the goal of overcoming the crisis, the economic crisis, the split within the party. It must be channeled toward a fruitful cooperation with Solidarity. In a word: be channeled into calm thinking, into calm democratization, not into violent upheavals away from the realities of life.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY COMMENT PRAISES CHNOUPEK VISIT

LD011530 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 1 Dec 80

[From the press review]

[Text] Commenting on the visit to Poland by Bohuslav Chnoupek, the CSSR minister of foreign affairs, ZYCIE WARSZAWY writes:

The visit to Warsaw by Minister B. Chnoupek, in addition to being a stimulus for further developing mutual relations, will also be an important Polish-Czechoslovak contribution to further strengthening the international positions of the states of the socialist community. The content of the joint communique is further decisive confirmation that both countries represent a strong and stable link in this community and at the same time that they have unanimous views on the most important problems of the present complicated international situation. It is also confirmation of active cooperation, in close alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries, for the sake of preserving peace, military detente and disarmament, and also security and international cooperation. The joint effort in favor of the policy of detente is the logically cohesive, historically verified philosophy of socialist assistance for neighbors for the good of peace, a philosophy which finds real possibilities of implementation.

GOODS, RAW MATERIALS CONTINUE ARRIVING FROM USSR

LD302025 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Nov 80

[Text] Soviet raw materials and goods earmarked for our economy are being handled in the border stations of Zurawica, Medyka, Boguszow. In the course of the 11 months of this year 8.5 million tons of iron ore have been transloaded and sent to foundries, thus overfulfilling the planned targets by nearly 1 million tons. Up-to-date agricultural machines, tractors and trucks supplied by the Soviet Union are being dispatched from these stations to customers in the interior.

SPECIALISTS AID USSR ON NUCLEAR PLANT PROJECTS

LD012138 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Dec (PAP)--With a new big mining and power complex at Belchatow and several projects now under way, Poland is still facing an energy shortage. To bridge the gap Poles have taken an active part in building three nuclear power stations in the Soviet Union to receive in return 1,200 million kwh of electric power in 1984 and 6,000 million kilowatt-hours annually in the years 1988-2003. In Khmielno, Kursk and Smolensk, 1,600 Polish specialists are engaged in construction and assembly works worth 200 million roubles. At peak time, the number of Poles working there is to rise to 5,000. Besides, Poland is supplying industrial equipment worth some 200 million roubles.

All in all, Poland will get 100 million kilowatt-hours of electric energy over the period of 20 years for the participation in the construction of the three Soviet nuclear power plants.

USSR TO GRANT $1.1 BILLION IN CREDITS IN 1981

LD020206 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] The Soviet Union will grant credits to Poland next year in exchangeable currencies to the tune of $1.1 billion and will supply, over and above the agreements reached to date, goods worth $200 million.

We will dispose of the financial credit according to our own needs and [word indistinct], allocating this credit in whole or in part to pay off our debts or to finance purchases in capitalist countries.

In connection with the present difficult economic situation, the Soviet Union has been quick to give financial aid this year in exchange currencies and in the form of goods deliveries worth $690 million. These deliveries have included, among others, grain, fish, sunflower oil, onions, tomato paste, cheeses and certain industrial domestic goods.

Goods supplies next year, on the other hand, will include, among others, 1 million tons of fertilizer, agricultural machinery with spare parts, 20,000 tons of cotton and 4,000 tons of artificial rubber. Regarding market goods, there will be additional supplies of television sets, radio receivers, 100,000 refrigerators and 10,000 cars. This aid will make it possible to ease our economic troubles to a considerable extent and to promote more clamly new principles of management in industry and agriculture.

TRYBUNA LUDU CITED ON COOPERATION WITH USSR

LD251008 Warsaw PAP in English 0814 GMT 25 Nov 80

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Nov (PAP)--In an article headlined "The Infrastructure of Friendship" TRYBUNA LUDU writes about the cooperation in science, culture, sport, travel and youth exchange between Poland and the USSR.

Excerpts:

Poland's political and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union is the main current of the friendly contacts between our countries and nations. However, cooperation in other fields--in science, culture, sport, travel and youth exchange is no less important in the awareness of an average inhabitant of Poland or the USSR for the consolidation and deepening of mutual friendship.

The cooperation and exchange in culture are of particular significance. The cultural exchange between Poland and the USSR amounts to one-third of our cultural exchange with the world. Russian and Soviet literature constitutes 31 per cent of translations published in Poland. Nearly 2,500 titles of Polish books and brochures, with the total press run of over 98 million copies, have been published in the Soviet Union in the post-war years.

There are close bonds between the science of Poland and the USSR. Cooperation in this field is regulated by bilateral agreements, which define its scope and programme. Our travel exchange with the USSR is growing. Recent agreements envisage a 25 per cent increase in tourist traffic in the years 1981-1985.

Soviet and Polish youth associations maintain close contacts. Alongside permanent working contacts, the days of friendship between Polish and Soviet youth are organized every second year alternately in Poland and the USSR.

CEAUSESCU SENDS MESSAGE TO UN ON PALESTINIAN DAY

AU011305 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Nov 80 p 1

[Message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to the United Nations on the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people]

[Text] To Rudiger von Wechmar, chairman of the 35th session of the UN General Assembly,

To Kurt Waldheim, UN secretary general, New York,

On the "international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people" I wish to again reiterate Socialist Romania's and all the Romanian people's active support for and feelings of solidarity with the Palestinian people's just struggle to attain their legitimate rights to free and independent development within their own national state.

This year's anniversary of the "international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people" takes place under conditions of great tension in the international situation, with new conflicts and states of tension appearing and being perpetuated, something which poses serious danger to the security, peace and independence of all peoples.

In accordance with its consistent position, Romania unswervingly acts to halt the increase in international tension and to resume and continue the policy of detente, independence, peace and cooperation. In this spirit, we believe that the efforts of all states and peoples must be firmly directed toward accelerating the political resolution of states of conflict and hotbeds of war, resolving all contentious problems through negotiations alone and ensuring conditions for all peoples to be able to concentrate their forces on socioeconomic development.

Romania militates actively and consistently for an overall solution of the Middle East situation leading to a just and lasting peace based on Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, including from Arab Jerusalem, on the resolution of the Palestinian people's problem in accordance with their right to self-determination and the creation of their own state, and on ensuring the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in that area.

We believe that it is now imperiously necessary, through broad consultations, to take initiatives capable of creating a new framework and basis for negotiations, under the form of an international conference under the aegis and with the active participation of the United Nations and with the participation of all sides involved in the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Palestinian people's legitimate representative, the USSR and the United States as well as other countries that can make a positive contribution to a peaceful resolution of the Middle East situation.

I would like to stress on this occasion that Romania is convinced that the key problem of the Middle East is to ensure conditions for the Palestinian people to attain, as soon as possible, its natural aspirations to live in tranquility and peace in their own independent state.

We believe that the overall resolution of the Middle East problems is in accordance with the interests of the peoples in that area, would have a positive impact on the international climate and would make a particularly important contribution to strengthening trust among nations and to efforts to continue the policy of peace, detente and free and independent development of all nations.

As far as it is concerned, Romania will continue to do everything possible to contribute to reaching a just and lasting resolution of the Middle East problems and an overall peace in that area and attaining the Palestinian people's legitimate rights.

In conclusion, I express the conviction that the United Nations can and must play an ever more active role in the overall resolution of the Middle East conflict and in the political resolution of all states of conflict, in accordance with the hopes and expectations of peoples to live in an international climate of tranquility, peace, security and cooperation.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CEAUSESCU MEETS WITH NEW GABONESE AMBASSADOR

AU012028 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Dec (AGERPRES)--On Monday, December 1, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, received Jacques Mombo who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Gabonese Republic to Romania.

Handing over his credentials, Ambassador Jacques Mombo conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a message of friendship on behalf of President El Hadj Omar Bongo and of the Gabonese people.

In the brief speech made on the occasion, the ambassador highlighted the good relations between Romania and Gabon that have expanded and strengthened steadily over the last few years in the spirit of the decisions and orientations established during the Romanian-Gabonese summit dialogue. In the speech, the will of the Gabonese Republic was expressed of developing and strengthening ever more the close cooperation with Romania both bilaterally and in the international arena.

President Nicolae Ceausescu requested that friendly greetings be conveyed to President El Hadj Omar Bongo and wishes of welfare and prosperity to the Gabonese people on behalf of the Romanian people as well as on his own behalf.

In the brief speech the Romanian head of state delivered on the same occasion the fact was highlighted that Romania attached particular importance to strengthening her relations with the African countries, with the developing and nonaligned countries, supported the peoples' efforts to master their national riches and their destinies.

Next, emphasis was placed on the relations of close friendship and collaboration between Romania and Gabon and the conviction was expressed that, by joint efforts, the understanding reached at summit level would be translated into fact thus contributing to the development of the mutually advantageous collaboration between the two countries, to their cooperation in the international arena.

SOMALI FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES IN BUCHAREST

AU012001 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Dec (AGERPRES)--Abdurahman Jama Barre, minister of foreign affairs of the Somali Democratic Republic, arrived in Bucharest on December 1 for an official visit of friendship to Romania at the invitation of the minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

On arrival, the guest was welcomed by Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, by other officials.

Talks started in Bucharest the same day between the foreign ministers of Romania and Somalia. Approached were questions regarding the expansion and deepening of the Romanian-Somali collaboration in various domains, for the benefit of both countries and peoples, of the cause of peace and understanding in the world.

Views were also exchanged on current international questions and on the cooperation between the two countries in the international life, for mutual benefit, in the interest of peace, detente, national independence, security and cooperation among nations.

During the dinner Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei gave on Monday in honor of the minister of foreign affairs of Somalia, Abdurahman Jama Barre, toasts were proposed to the health of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and of the president of the Somali Democratic Republic, Mohamed Siad Barre, to the steady consolidation and deepening of the Romanian-Somali relations of friendship, to peace and international cooperation.

MAURITIUS CP DELEGATION DEPARTS 1 DECEMBER

AU011323 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1210 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Dec (AGERPRES)--The delegation of the Communist Party of Mauritius, headed by Letoraz Chandraman, president of the party, who visited Romania at the invitation of the C.C. of the R.C.P., left Bucharest on December 1st, being saluted by Virgil Cazacu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the C.C. of the R.C.P.

BURTICA MEETS WITH INDIRA GANDHI IN DELHI

AU012008 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Delhi, 1 Dec (AGERPRES)-- On Monday, December 1, Indira Gandhi, Indian prime minister, received Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister of Romania, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, now on a visit to India.

The Indian premier was conveyed a message and a cordial salute on behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu and of Elena Ceausescu. Indira Gandhi requested that President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu be conveyed best wishes of good health and happiness.

In the spirit of the top-level understandings, discussed were possibilities of expanding the bilateral commercial exchanges and economic cooperation, corresponding to the possibilities and developing necessities of the two countries. At the same time, discussed were questions of the current international life.

The same day, Cornel Burtica had interviews with Pranab Kumar Mukherjee, minister of commerce and iron-and-steel industry [as received], Prakash Sethi, minister of petroleum, as well as with representatives of several Indian industrial and trading companies.

PRIME MINISTER RETURNS FROM CHINESE VISIT

AU012013 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Dec (AGERPRES)--Ilie Verdet, prime minister of Romania, returned to Bucharest on Monday, December 1, from an official visit of friendship paid to the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Zhao Ziyang, premier of the State Council.

CEAUSESCU, VERDET GREET ALBANIAN COUNTERPARTS

AU011022 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Nov 80 p 5

[Text] To Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania,

To Mehmet Shehu, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Tirana,

On the 36th anniversary of your fatherland's liberation and the victory of the people's revolution, we extend to the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania most heartfelt congratulations and wishes for new achievements in socialist construction and in the fatherland's continuous flourishing, on behalf of the Romanian people, the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and ourselves personally.

We reiterate the conviction that relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries will increasingly develop, to the mutual benefit of the Romanian and Albanian peoples.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

SCINTEIA HIGHLIGHTS ALBANIA'S NATIONAL DAY

AU011017 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Nov 80 p 5

[Unattributed editorial note on 36th anniversary of Albania's national day]

[Text] On 29 November Albania marks the 36th anniversary of its liberation from the fascist yoke and the victory of the people's revolution. Albanian patriots, headed by communists, heroically rose against foreign occupation, Italian fascism and, in 1943, against Nazi Germany, the complete liberation of their country crowning the long struggle for independence and freedom, against feudal and capitalist exploitation and for the right to self-determination.

Along the new road opened by the historic act of 29 November 1944, the Albanian people headed by the workers party have attained a number of socioeconomic changes. Immediately after liberation, along with consolidating the people's power and eliminating the exploiting classes,the working people proceeded to fundamentally renew the country. By utilizing available material and human potential, they built new enterprises, factories and plants. The industrialization level is illustrated by the increase in the share of such branches as metallurgy, oil, gas, energy, chemistry and machine building. Noteworthy changes have taken place in agriculture, which has increased its production 5 times in the years after liberation, through greater mechanization and chemicalization, expansion of arable lands and utilization of new and previously unproductive lands. A particular role in the development of the Albanian economy devolved on the current 5-year plan; industrial production has increased about 40 percent and agricultural production over 35 percent in this period.

As a result of the working people's efforts, the country's landscape has also undergone noteworthy changes. Paved roads cut through Albania's mountains and new railroads link the Adriatic seashore with many towns. The country's electrification was completed years ago and the republic's towns and villages have been modernized. The heavy burden of illiteracy inherited from the past has been liquidated. Albania now has a broad network of all kinds of schools. The successes attained in the development of the economy and culture are reflected in the increase in the living standard of the people in towns and villages.

The Romanian people rejoice in the Albanian people's achievements and nurture the conviction that their efforts to overcome various difficulties and efficiently utilize available material and human resources will materialize in new successes along the road of economic development and socialist construction.

Romanian-Albanian relations, with long-standing historical traditions, are developing on the basis of respect for the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage. [paragraph continues]

Bilateral economic cooperation is recording an upward course: The trade agreement recently concluded in Bucharest for the 1981-1985 period provides for an important increase in the mutual exchanges of goods compared with the current 5-year plan. There is no doubt that the Romanian economic potential--which is increasingly growing and modernizing--the achievements of the Albanian economy and the programs to continuously develop the forces of production in the two countries offer favorable opportunities for deepening and diversifying mutual cooperation, to the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace.

On Albania's liberation, the Romanian people congratulate the Albanian people and wish them new successes in their country's development.

CEAUSESCU GREETS SFRY LEADERS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU010955 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Nov 80 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency,

To Comrade Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium,

The SFRY national day gives me the pleasant opportunity to extend warm greetings and most cordial congratulations to you, the SFRY Presidency, the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the friendly Yugoslav peoples, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, all the Romanian people and myself personally.

Recalling with satisfaction the fruitful results of my recent meetings and talks in Belgrade, I wish to express the conviction that, by jointly acting in the spirit of agreements and understandings reached, the relations of friendship, solidarity and close cooperation between our parties and countries will increasingly develop, to the benefit of the Romanian people and Yugoslav peoples and in the interest of the cause of socialism, national independence, peace and cooperation among peoples.

I wholeheartedly extend to you, the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium wishes for new success in your activity and to the friendly peoples of Socialist Yugoslavia, wishes for ever greater achievements in their activity devoted to the fatherland's flowering, its prosperity and happiness.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

BRIEFS

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH VENEZUELA--Caracas, 20 Nov (AGERPRES)--The proceedings of the second session of the Joint Romanian-Venezuelan Governmental Commission of Economic and Industrial Cooperation took place in Caracas. On the occasion, the Romanian chief delegate, Adrian Stoica, deputy minister of chemical industry, conducted talks with executives of some ministries and departments, of state enterprises and private firms, when the possibilities were analysed of developing commercial exchanges and economic cooperation in industry, agriculture, housing construction, as well as technical-scientific collaboration. The protocol concluded stipulates concrete measures for realizing commercial exchanges and initiating actions of cooperation. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 20 Nov 80 AU]

TRADE DELEGATION IN ARGENTINA--A Romanian economic delegation led by Doina Ardare, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, visited Argentina. The delegation conducted talks at the Ministries of Foreign Relations, Foreign Trade, Industrial Development, with the management of some state enterprises and private companies to give impetus to trade exchange and economic cooperation between Romania and Argentina. [Text] [Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 21 Nov 80 AU]

VRHOVEC WELCOMES HUNGARY'S PUJA ON ARRIVAL

LD021112 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Dec (TANJUG)--Frigyes Puja, the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Belgrade this morning on an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia. At Belgrade airport the Hungarian foreign minister was welcomed by Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary of foreign affairs.

Trajko Trajkovski, head of department in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs; Milan Veres, SFRY ambassador to the People's Republic of Hungary; Ranko Vilus, head of protocol in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs; and other officials were also in the welcoming party. Jozsef Halasz, Hungarian ambassador to Yugoslavia, and embassy staff also welcomed Minister Puja.

AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH HUNGARY ON MOTOR INDUSTRIES

AU271629 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 80

[Summary] A 10-year production cooperation agreement between the Yugoslav and Hungarian motor industries was signed today at the Serbian Chamber of Economy in Belgrade. Olivija Rusovac reports:

The new 10-year agreement between the Yugoslav motor industry community, which unites 23 work organizations from all parts of the country, and the entire Hungarian motor industry provides for a total trade of $1.3 billion between the two partners. Speaking about the international importance of that cooperation, (Ede Horvath), general director of the (Rab) factory, said: [begin recording in Hungarian followed by Serbo-Croatian translation read by Olivija Rusovac] "I see the international importance of our cooperation in the fact that the two friendly socialist countries have solved the problem of division of labor, that is now strengthened by important figures. This is a unique type of cooperation." [end recording]

Jovan Stankov, general director of the Ikarus factory, assessed the importance of cooperation with Hungarian producers, and said among other things: [begin recording] "The agreement that we signed today is in fact a continuation of the existing cooperation for the next 10 years." That cooperation was initiated nearly 15 years ago and has been especially successful in the last 5 years. As a result of that cooperation, the Yugoslav and Hungarian motor industries have become increasingly interdependent." [end recording]

It was also agreed today to open negotiations in January next year about production cooperation in manufacturing construction machines and equipment, as well as in manufacturing tractors. The Krusevac 14 October enterprise and the new Belgrade machines and tractors factory would appear as the respective Yugoslav partners in these negotiations.

COOPERATION COMMISSION DISCUSSES TRADE WITH GREECE

AU012105 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 80 p 6

[Text] (TANJUG)--Positive results are being achieved in Yugoslav-Greek economic cooperation this year, but the two countries are still not satisfied with the volume of commodity exchange and the level of development of higher forms of economic links. These assessments were set forth yesterday at the beginning of the 10th session of the permanent Yugoslav-Greek Interministerial Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation. The delegations of the two countries are led by Eng Stojan Matkalijev, member of the Federal Executive Council and president of the Federal Committee for Energy and Industry, and Stavros Dhimas, Greek minister. [paragraph continues]

The geographic proximity and complimentary quality of the two economies offer far greater possibilities, and thus the economic partners of the two neighboring countries must in future try to considerably increase commodity exchange and to establish long-term business links which would put economic cooperation on stable and balanced foundations.

In the 9 months of this year, the value of Yugoslav-Greek commodity exchange totaled some $208 million, of which the value of Yugoslav exports was $145 million. Compared with the same period last year, Yugoslav exports increased by some 8 percent, while imports from Greece were reduced by several percent. For this reason, both sides assessed that the commodity exchange must be enriched by new, primarily industrial products, but it is also necessary to make efforts to reduce the Greek trade deficit.

DOLANC ADDRESSES LJUBLJANA FACTORY MEETING

AU2819 21 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1018 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Speech by Stane Dolanc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at a celebration, held in the production hall of a new plant of the Litostroj factory of Ljubljana, devoted to Republic Day, the commissioning of the new plant and the 30th anniversary of self-management in the Litostroj factory of Ljubljana--live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: I am very pleased at being able to say a few words in your work organization today on the occasion of commissioning a new plant to make dies for shaping metals and nonmetals. The beginning of operation of the new plant, something that is a holiday in itself, is much more festive for the working man because it is linked with our greatest holiday--Republic Day--which we will celebrate tomorrow.

I am particularly honored because I was invited by workers of the Litostroj factory, which from the very beginning of its existence and operations has represented the concept of Slovene and Yugoslav development, of the development of our heavy industry, a constant strengthening factor of the material foundations of our society and of new socioeconomic and sociopolitical relations. This particularly applies to the past 30 years, since your work organization has borne the proud name Litostroj Tito factory, a name that is inseparably linked to the beginning of the actual realization of the worker's authority.

At this spot, on which a modern working organization is situated--an organization which by its equipment, technology, knowledge and results of operations can be compared with the most modern factories of the kind in the world--there was a machine-building factory in prewar Yugoslavia. And although at that time undeveloped Yugoslavia badly needed its products, the factory went bankrupt in 1936 because of various machinations carried out by domestic and foreign capital. Many workers were dismissed. At that time, Comrade Franc Leskosek-Luka, secretary of the then workers organization of metalworkers for Slovenia, announced that the machine-building factory would exist again in Ljubljana. And 10 years later, the first production plants of the Litostroj Tito factory actually existed.

In the Litostroj factory today, in its 15 basic organizations, 3,850 workers are associating their work. They earn on average 1 million old dinars per month, create 90 billion [presumably old] dinars of net income and this year they have already exported very modern, high quality products worth 35 billion [presumably old] dinars, products by which the Litostroj factory is known literally throughout the world.

Comrades, you workers of Litostroj, who in September this year celebrated the 30th anniversary of activity of the first workers organs of management, confirm with the results of your work the words pronounced by Comrade Tito on 5 September 1965 when he visited your work organization for the last time.

"We are people capable of creating. In the recent period, we have created a country from Yugoslavia that our people would not have even dreamed about. This is primarily a united country. All our peoples are united. The second important fact is that in the postwar period our workers class has developed together with us. As it fought during the war, our workers class also fought in the postwar period in the field of industrializing our country. I am convinced that we will overcome all the difficulties facing us." Those were Comrade Tito's words.

Comrade Tito is no longer among us. However, the results of the struggle of our workers class and all working people, a struggle to which he devoted his entire life--that is, socialist self-management, the brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities, the independence of our homeland, the nonaligned policy--these results are alive and we will not allow anybody to divert us from Tito's path.

I believe that it is necessary to stress this, too, and primarily today, not so much because we would like to reply to those at home and abroad who expect that something might change in the Yugoslav domestic or foreign policy after Tito's death, naturally in the direction wished by those people. We are stressing it for our own sake, for the sake of confidence in the creative capabilities of our workers class and working people, and last but not least, we are stressing it because of the working people's confidence in the League of Communists, in the trade union confederation, the Socialist Alliance and in all other organized socialist forces, a confidence demonstrated daily in all these organizations and forces.

The moment in which we live calls from all of us for even more work, knowledge, responsibility and organization in the further development of the socialist self-managing society. Only really developed socialist self-management can ensure the emancipation of man from the fetters of the capitalist or state ownership relations and open up opportunities for direct decisionmaking in his work and life.

In the last 30 years, our socialist self-managing society demonstrated and proved its vital strength and the creative capabilities of our working people. In all fields of social and economic life we have achieved results that were achieved in such a brief period of time by only a few societies in the world. Not only that, but from a backward, predominantly agricultural country we have become a medium developed industrial country with a relatively high social and personal standard of living for all our people. From a backward country devastated in the war we have developed a strong socialist self-managing Yugoslavia, a country of peoples and nationalities enjoying equal rights, a society which, with every passing day, is becoming a really socialist self-managing community of the worker class and all working people, a country which is capable of and prepared to defend the attainments of the socialist revolution from every attack.

Comrades, the strength of our socialist self-managing society and the strength of the League of Communists in particular has, among other things, always lain and lies in the fact that in creating and implementing the long-term and day-to-day goals of the workers class we have openly spoken about the successes and also the lack of success, problems and difficulties of our society. Despite the successes for which the entire world recognizes us, we have not idealized the successes. We are aware of the fact that many elements, which are the inheritance of the old and essentially obsolete world, influence our activity; that realization of many plans of ours depends on our international political position, or rather the international economic and political situations, and that many difficulties arise from the contradictions of the new socialist self-managing relations.

For this reason we now also frankly speak about our economic situation and difficulties which we must resolve because we do not want to stop.

Stagnation, particularly if it were to continue for a long time, would mean a halt, a regression. For this reason we communists must mobilize our entire society, our workers class and all working people to overcome the difficulties with which we have to cope, difficulties that are the consequences of both the subjective weaknesses in our development and of many objective reasons that we have already mentioned. In this mobilization we must realize that what is involved is a long-term policy, which takes as a basis our real capabilities and potential and which, willy-nilly, means a radical change in the behavior of all of us.

I said that many of the problems that we have to cope with are of the kind that the world encounters. In this connection I particularly bear in mind the crisis in the supply of energy and raw materials. We have paid nearly $1.5 billion more for oil than we planned. These difficulties, and you are aware of them, have an objective influence on the economic situation in our country and are no specific trait of the Yugoslav economy. Many economically far better developed countries have to struggle with the same kind of problems. We regret we cannot expect that these trends on the world market will change within a short time.

For this reason it is all the more important that we turn to ourselves. In this connection I primarily mean that we must admit the fact that the dynamics of our society's development of economic and noneconomic activities, the social and the personal standard of living do not correspond to our actual potential, they do not correspond to the results of our work and that, to put it simply, our entire society and most of us live better than we actually work and earn.

The planned and also spontaneous great aspirations and even demands for development were something normal and everyday. To be sure, we attacked them by words, but we failed to bridle them with action and for that reason--nearly as a rule--they continued to exceed our real potential every year. They have brought us so far that now we simply can no longer allow that. We must all recognize it, all of us--the worker in his basic organization of associated labor, the citizen in his local community and sociopolitical community, the members of sociopolitical organization; every member of our socialist self-managing society and especially every member of the LCY must realize it.

What do I mean by that? For some time now we have been talking about the necessary stabilization of our economy, about development that is in accord with our abilities, about the struggle for higher labor productivity, about the struggle for greater exports and greater competitive ability in the world market, about economizing in all spheres of our social life, about efficient use of our own energy and raw materials resources, about greater use and development of our own knowledge and technology and about adapting the social and personal standards to the results of work. Really a great deal has been said and written about all that lately with an appropriate critical approach. But, in my opinion, at times we nevertheless go too far in appraising the situation. But in this connection I do not want even accidentally to underestimate the extremely serious position in which we find ourselves. We must be realistic; nevertheless some individual appraisals are at times so pessimistic that some people are already beginning to exploit them for attacks on us and as evidence that socialist self-management, the league of communists, the delegate system, our nonalignment and so forth and so on are to be blamed for the difficulties in Yugoslavia. Individuals and tiny groups of people at home and in some other countries in the world ascribe our economic difficulties to the political system of socialist self-management and claim that, as they say, everything would be different in Yugoslavia if there were greater freedom and greater democracy and more discussions and criticism. It seems to me nearly futile to exchange polemics with them about how much democracy we have in our self-managing society.

I would only say first of all let those who work in mines, steelworks, foundries, in the arts, literature, painting, in schools, universities, institutes and the academies of sciences--that is, our real working people--speak and express their opinions on our democracy. Never has anyone in Yugoslavia, and least of all the League of Communists, restricted man's creative work emanating from his position within the production relationship, the work that truly develops human freedom. But we cannot and will not recognize as a struggle for democracy the monopolizing attempts by individuals or groups in any sphere of social work and life, as well as political intrigues and the like. We cannot and will not allow or recognize as a struggle for democracy anything that would threaten the basic achievements of our revolution: social ownership, the power of the workers class and the working people, socialist self-management, the brotherhood and unity of our peoples, the nonaligned policy and our independence--no matter how these attempts might be beautifully wrapped in some rustling and whispering phrasemaking about complete freedom and complete and absolute democracy.

Some people simply have time on their hands and opportunities to toy with words about freedom and democracy. And in this connection, of course, they primarily have in mind freedom for themselves and a democracy such as they imagine, a democracy for themselves and not for the working people for whose freedom they allegedly struggle. And for that reason let them read what Comrade Kardelj says in his "Directions of Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management" about such a monopoly on freedom and democracy. Kardelj says: "For that reason the workers' movement must be very clear and resolute in unmasking, defining and contesting the political strategy and ideology that aspires, under the guise of the moral force of the so-called revolutionary intellectual elite, to establish the monopoly and leadership of a narrow stratum of disoriented ultraleftist intelligentsia over the social strata that have been caught by the contemporary currents of proletarization. In its aspiration to preserve its own privileged position, the ultraleftist intelligentsia gives a distorted expression to the interests and needs of these strata, separates their interests from the interests of the workers class and the workers movement and leads to the road on which there is no salvation, that is, on the road of tragic individualism or the road of gradual restriction to the ideology of technobureaucratic absolutism."

The criterion of democracy in Yugoslavia is the struggle for real liberation of work and the workingman. It was precisely here at Litostroj where Comrade Kardelj in 1959 explained that struggle in the following manner: "The struggle to consolidate our development in the direction clearly traced by the program of the League of Communists will be the more successful the more the communists and all our party organizations know how to struggle against harmful tendencies and excesses either from the right or the left. The development of socialism will be all the quicker and will yield all the greater results the more democratic the road along which we are fulfilling our socialist goals is. Democracy as a method and as a means in building socialism requires an extraordinarily active approach, militancy and determination of communists in the struggle against hostile tendencies. Democracy does not imply that the communists have renounced the struggle saying: Let the reactionary representatives of various antisocialist or confused tendencies speak freely. No; democracy implies that the communists must resolutely and energetically struggle against such negative phenomena."

We communists have never renounced our right to express our views on everything concerning the life of our working people and the development of our country. And that means, above all, that the League of Communists and especially the Socialist Alliance and other sociopolitical organizations must become even more capable of creatively including in all currents of social life all those working people and citizens who, with their knowledge, the strength of ideology and other abilities, wish to make their contribution to further building socialist self-management and the policy which they have chosen. And therein also lies one of the best traditions of the communist party and the League of Communists and all those working people and citizens who, jointly with the League of Communists, struggle for real freedom and democracy.

In the most difficult time of the lives of our peoples and nationalities the communists have always rallied all progressive people on a united platform for a common struggle and at the same time showed--clearly and without concealing the sacrifices that would be required--the prospects for a better, nicer and more just world. That is how it was in the national liberation struggle; that is how it was during the time of Stalin's attack on Yugoslavia; and that is how it was also in those times of our internal ruptures when socialist self-management was clearing its road. The League of Communists and our society do not need to to defend themselves and try to prove whether we are democratic or not. We have created and we are creating a society, which I do not claim is ideal, but which we can calmly compare--especially regarding the position of man--to any other society and the position of man in it. And I am convinced that such a comparison would in no way result to our disadvantage.

Comrade, the struggle for economic stabilization is already yielding the first important results. In our foreign trade we have turned the corner away from an increasingly great dependence of the Yugoslav economy on imports that was the case for several years. Our real exports have exceeded our planned exports by 9 percent. At the same time our imports have fallen short of our planned imports by 11 percent. Imports of the same equipment, for instance, that Litostroj exports are still too large. Nevertheless we anticipate that this year we will considerably reduce our foreign trade deficit. Few countries have succeeded in carrying out such radical changes in such a short period. We have also achieved good results in the invisible trade revenue, especially in tourism and transportation. We are radically reducing all forms of consumption, from personal consumption to general and public spending, and especially investment spending. The total income of work organizations has increased by nearly 37 percent this year and at the same time their net income has increased by 32.7 percent. The portion of net income designated for development of the material basis has increased by nearly 84 percent, something that is yet further evidence of the fact that this orientation suits associated labor.

As has always been the case in the past, our workers, our workers class bear the largest burden in resolving these difficulties. Precisely for that reason we must not spare any efforts to ensure that in the situation in which we find ourselves now our working people will be rewarded according to the results of work. Society as whole and especially the League of Communists, the Confederation of Trade Unions and all other organized forces must not allow any significant decline in personal standards of living and especially any further decline in real personal incomes. We know the answer: Productivity must be improved. However, it is not only a question of personal income. All the competent organs must take energetic measures to also put in order such everyday matters as providing all such basic goods and services required for normal life as food products, housing, health services and so forth. But we can attain all these set goals only if we all, as individuals and as a society, behave in a disciplined manner and responsibly toward work.

I can say that until now the working people have demonstrated a high degree of self-managing awareness of and responsibility toward the tasks that we face. It is precisely for that reason that they are all the more justified in calling attention to the shortcomings that are not in accord with their striving for better economic management, the situation in which we find ourselves and socialist morals. In this connection I primarily have in mind the frequent criticisms by workers of incorrect evaluations of production work in our society, criticisms that are justified in a majority of cases involved. It is abnormal that the work of workers in mines, steelworks, ironworks, cement factories and many other production organizations, in which--in addition to everything else--work is performed under difficult working conditions, is valued less and rewarded more poorly than the majority of the so-called administrative jobs.

We talk quite a lot about the movement of workers and especially young workers from direct production to administration as well as about the ways we should change that.

We certainly will not change it with administrative measures and by talking. But we will certainly succeed if we ensure that direct production work will be better rewarded. It is clear that what is happening are distortions of obligations and criteria, distortions that are apparent in the fact that physical work is in a certain way regarded disparagingly, or as some people say: Work in a white coat is worth more than work in blue overalls. The pressure to expand administations has already become a real social problem because we have organizations in which the number of people employed in administration is nearly equal to the number of people employed in direct production; and in that connection I do not have in mind certain organizations that have strong research and similar departments.

All organized subjective forces of our society will quite soon be forced to take measures to limit or even reduce administration, measures to simplify administrative work and to modernize it wherever that is necessary, because the part of the value that the worker gives for often unnecessary administrative tasks is still too large in our society.

Comrades, on this occasion, I have only briefly mentioned some problems and tasks that we encountered this year and will also encounter in the coming medium-term plan period, which we call the stabilization period. I am convinced that we will succeed, especially if we link the struggle for stabilization as closely as possible with the further development of socioeconomic relations and of the political system of socialist self-management. The struggle will not be easy. But we already perceive the first results; and everything that has a braking effect and that must be changed or perfected is also becoming increasingly evident. The struggle for stabilization is simultaneously the struggle for our further development in all spheres of social life, the struggle for a better future, for true freedom, for free decisionmaking in the life of all our working people.

I wish all working people of the Litostroj Tito plants many new working successes: I congratulate them on this Republic Day and wish them much personal happiness and satisfaction.

LJUBICIC SENDS PRESIDENCY REPUBLIC DAY GREETINGS

LD282259 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0947 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Nov (TANJUG)--Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, has sent greetings to the SFRY Presidency:

"On the occasion of 29 November--Republic Day--I am sending you warmest greetings and cordial best wishes on behalf of all members of the SFRY's armed forces and on my own behalf. In a year in which we are celebrating the republic holiday without its creator and untiring architect, Comrade Tito, for the first time, the working class and working people of our country, together with members of the armed forces, are making enormous efforts to continue his work in building our socialist self-managing community and in realizing a vision of a world without wars in an even more united and resolute way. In congratulating you on Republic Day, we are expressing our unshakeable devotion and constant readiness to defend the gains of our revolution and to prevent any attempt to threatening its freedom, independence and territorial integrity," Nikola Ljubicic's greeting says.

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH LIBYA--Aleksandar Ilic, assistant to the president of the Federal Committee for Energy and Industry, has met in Tripoli with 'Abd as-Salam as-Zaq'ar, Libyan secretary for petroleum. On that occasion they discussed the advancement of cooperation between the two countries in the field of oil research, production and buying. Complete mutual agreement was reached on that. [Text] [Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Nov 80 AU]